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# West Europe Report

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# WEST EUROPE REPORT

No. 2221

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ENERGY ECONOMICS NORWAY

STATE OIL FIRM TO SELL TO ISRAEL; ARAB PROTESTS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 21 Sep 83 pp 32, 3

[Article by Flemming Dahl]

[Text] Statoil, the Norwegian state oil company, has signed a contract to deliver half a million tons of Norwegian crude oil to Israel. According to the company's press spokesman, Hakon Lavik, the sale is being made on purely commercial terms.

This is the first time that Statoil has sold oil to Israel. The reason why this has not happened before, in spite of Israel's stated desire to buy oil on several occasions, is according to Lavik that Statoil has not had enough oil at its disposal to make this kind of sale.

It is commonly assumed that Norwegian oil has found its way to Israel in the past, but it has been detoured through the international market. Norwegian authorities have not opposed the sale of Norwegian oil to Israel, but on receiving inquiries from Israeli authorities they have pointed out that the companies that produce the oil are also in charge of sales.

The Statoil oil is being sold to the Israeli company, Delek, in which the state of Israel owns a number of shares. The sale is being made at a market price of around \$30 a barrel, which means that the contract has a value of approximately 800 million kroner.

"We consider this to be a purely commercial transaction between two companies," said embassy counsellor David Zohar with the Israeli Embassy in Oslo, speaking to AFTENPOSTEN. "We hope that general trade between Norway and Israel will flourish in both directions," he added.

The fact that Oil and Energy Minister Kare Kristiansen, who makes up Statoil's general meeting, recently repeated his wish of many years that Norwegian oil be sold to Israel should not be viewed as the reason for the contract that has been signed, according to Statoil. "The ministry was informed in the usual way of the contract at the senior official level after it had been signed," said press spokesman Lavik.

Information secretary Egil Helle of the Oil and Energy Ministry also stressed that Norwegian authorities took no part in the negotiations prior to the signing of the contract.

The idea of selling Norwegian oil to Israel was a sensitive political issue in Norway at the end of the 1970's when Israel asked the authorities of Norway and other countries for guaranteed oil deliveries if the country developed a shortage. The Norwegian government replied that it could help Israel out in cooperation with other countries if such a situation arose. The present Oil and Energy Minister Kare Kristiansen was one of the politicians who were enthusiastic about a more definite Norwegian guarantee at that time.

Israel took up the matter in connection with the peace agreement with Egypt, which meant the transfer of Israeli oil fields to the Egyptians. Norway received signals that the Arab lands would react negatively if a Norwegian guarantee was made.

According to the statements made yesterday, neither Statoil nor the Oil and Energy Ministry fear that the Arab lands will react to the contract that has now been agreed on.

The Statoil oil for Israel will be divided up into four shiploads, all of which will be delivered to Rotterdam during the fall. Statoil said it did not know how the oil was to be transported from there. According to press spokesman Lavik the oil will probably be sent to Rotterdam from the Statfjord field in the North Sea.

Lavik said that a contributing reason why Statoil was able to give an affirmative answer to an Israeli inquiry on this occasion is that the Statfjord field has produced more oil than anticipated in recent months. He pointed out that this means the company has not sold all its oil under long-term contracts.

If the practical and commercial conditions are favorable, Lavik did not rule out the possibility that more oil would be sold to Israel.

Information secretary Egil Helle of the Oil and Energy Ministry stressed that South Africa is the only country that cannot buy Norwegian oil under a ban by Norwegian authorities.

Yesterday the Palestine Committee expressed its regrets about the Statoil contract with Is ael and asked the government to cancel it.

The Norwegian decision to sell oil to Israel was deplored in a press release from the Palestine Committee. The committee said that Israel is a nation at war and recalled the United Nations resolution from last year on halting all economic cooperation with Israel.

According to the NTB news agency, the Palestine Committee referred among other things to an extraordinary meeting by the UN General Assembly on 5 February 1982 on the Golan Heights, which decided by 86 to 21 votes to halt all aid and economic assistance to Israel. Norway and the other Nordic lands were among those voting against the resolution.

6578

CSO: 3639/3

ECONOMIC

COVERNMENT'S ACTIONS TO SLOW INFLATION HITS HOME OWNERS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 6 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by RB: "Icelanders by the Thousands on the Brink of Bankruptcy"]

[Text] It is the conclusion of a new Icelandic people's movement on private economy and housing issues that thousands of Icelandic families will soon be faced with bankruptcy if the government does not improve the terms for the private home building sector.

According to the Reykjavik Municipal Real Estate Assessment Board, between 80 and 90 percent of all dwellings in Iceland are privately owned, which the owner either has built himself or bought in the private real estate market. A real estate agent in Reykjavik states that the normal purchasing terms for private housing is that the purchaser pays about 75 percent of the sale price over the first 2 years and the remaining 25 percent over 4 to 5 years.

When considering that a three room apartment in Reykjavik costs about 1,500,000.00 Icelandic kronur (approximately 500,000.00 Dkr), it is obvious that the financing is the greatest problem for the average wage-earner who earns on the average approximately 250,000.00 kronur annually (approximately 85,000.00 Dkr).

The high inflation that has harried Iceland in the last 10 years was, until a few years ago, a great help for the home builders and buyers, as the financial debts were reduced with the increasing inflation, which interest rates did not follow. This changed considerably when the banks introduced an adjustment of the price index on deposits and loans.

The current problem in home building is that wage development has not kept up with inflation which now is about 100 percent annually.

In order to finance private housing, families now must take bank loans. The wage earners association in Iceland says that by the turn of the year, the wage earners' purchasing power will be reduced by about 40 percent in relation to what it was in 1982.

The families' possibilities of repaying the bank loans actually do not exist, say the spokesmen for the new popular movement. According to Economist Gunnar Haraldsson, private debt in Iceland will have risen by 75 percent from the beginning of the year to its end, while the wage index rises by only 30 percent during the same period.

9583

CSO: 3613/204

ECONOMIC

#### GREATER INVESTMENTS BY INDUSTRY TO HELP ECONOMY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Sep 83 p 14

[Text]--The Hague; Early Sep--Business is beginning to show an improvement even in Holland. The public, however, is eyeing recent indices warily and is far from ready to place its trust in them. The general opinion among the Dutch is that an improvement in their economy is more modest than in other countries, and they believe that Holland will be one of the last industrialized countries to witness an upswing.

Anyone familiar with Holland and its people knows that the North Sea country with its gray skies is a breeding ground for gloominess and pessimism. So it is justified to wonder if the Dutch are not once again exaggerating with their ceaseless lamentations. It cannot be disputed that the country seemed to be in sad shape in the past few years, for there were people who have had to sell their homes since they could not pay the mortgage. And housewives are gardening in order to economize instead of to just have a hobby. Yet, at the same time, expensive restaurants are still doing a volume business, a majority of the cars on the highways in other countries carry Dutch license plates, and the airlines are filling seats on flights to Spain and America.

Generally, foreign countries are not any more optimistic about Holland's future than the Dutch themselves are. True, the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] was less pessimistic in its outlook on the situation in Holland from the middle of June than it was at the end of last year. However, it calculates only a slight gain of ½ percent in the growth of the gross national product for 1984. The OECD predicts a further drop for 1984 in private consumption, investments, and domestic demand. The European Community Commission in Brussels likewise predicts a marginal growth of only 0.5 percent, and it believes that the budget deficit will continue to increase. The U.S. Department of Commerce is even less confident, as is made clear by its prediction of a downturn in the Dutch economy in the coming year and of an inevitable increase in the employment rate. Thus, as the Department maintains, other nations must see a strong upswing in their economies before Holland can follow suit.

Which is not to say that there are no encouraging signs in Holland. For example, the Central Bank of Holland, which in its last quarterly report

stated that the Dutch economy had come to a standstill, now says that there has been a rejuvenation, although slight, and that it is tied to an extraordinarily high money supply. Since the recovery is running more sluggishly in Holland than elsewhere, the Central Bank is making every effort to keep interest rates low. The business reports of big corporations published in the spring of this year were more favorable than in recent times and their future expectations were more optimistic (including Philips, Royal Dutch, Akzo, Unilever, Dutch State Mines). As the chairman of the largest union of employers, the Federation of Netherlands Enterprises (VNO), van Veen, said at the end of June, certain corporations are now in a good position for the future, particularly after completing extensive revamping programs in 1982. They are now in a position to profit from an economic recovery. Van Veen also maintains that Holland will see a slower recovery than such countries as the United States and Japan will. The VNO chairman adds that he too sees a turnaround in sight.

Last month's figures from the Central Bureau of Statistics in The Hague indicate that an improvement is coming. One bit of encouraging news was that industry has plans to invest nine percent more this year than in 1982. In 1981 investments fell 11 percent, and a 5 percent decrease followed in 1982. The decreases and the expected increases in investments are attributed primarily to the oil, food, and nonessential food and beverages industries, which reduced their investments by 8 percent in 1982, are planning on an increase of 16 percent in 1983. In contrast, the chemical industry plans on spending only 16 percent more than in 1982, when it increased its investments by 22 percent. The metal and electronics industries have slated a reduction of 7 percent in investments for 1983.

Employer organizations are pleased with the confident mood in the corporations. The VNO and the NCW [Dutch Christian Employers Union] stress that the downturn has temporarily bottomed out and that concrete signs of a recovery have appeared. "The simple fact that the turnaround point has been reached is a gain in itself," says a spokesman for the VNO. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether the reduction in stocks has ended or whether it is a matter of replenishing reserve investments. As it is, the secretary of the NCW believes that the trust of corporations in the present government is not an insignificant factor in reviving investments. "But one tulip doesn't mean winter is over," he adds quickly with a bit of typically Dutch pessimism and points out that the oil industry is the major reason for the increase in investments. The Central Planning Bureau also dampens enthusiasm somewhat and for the same reasons as does the NCW. Owing partly to a gentlemen's agreement with the government, the oil industry is forced to reinvest a portion of its profits in Holland. As it stands, the planned purchase of ships and aircraft for this year are contributing to the lopsided scheme of Investments.

In addition to the investments forecasts, the most recent business poll by the Central Office of Statistics indicated an improvement. This came after the production figures for May moved the Department of Commerce to issue the carefully formulated statement that economic activity has improved to a certain degree. In July more employers described the demand for their goods

as satisfactory than had in the previous month. Yet, 35 percent regarded the demand as too low for June. In December 1982, that figure stood at 42 percent and in March, it was at 35 percent. The number of orders rose slightly in June, but that was stricly for export orders. Output was somewhat closer to capacity in June than it had been in March.

Dutch exports rose slightly during the first quarter of 1983. The OECD is projecting a further increase in exports ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  percent) in the coming year and, in conjunction with that, an increase in the surplus of balance of payments including visible trade to a level (4.24 billion dollars) that no other industrialized nation will reach. As for the export sector, the high dollar exchange rate has a favorable effect on the returns from the export of Dutch natural gas since foreign customers pay primarily in dollars. The results of an increase in value will not have their full effect on the public purse until 1985 at the soonest. The increase in price of natural gas for foreign clients bears some good news with the bad. The profit on the gain in the value of the dollar can balance out the loss that Holland suffers because of the drop in gas exports. And the other Dutch exports can profit from a strong dollar.

In contrast, the Dutch consumer is more difficult to enthuse than is the employer. According to the last business poll by the Central Bureau of Statistics, consumer pessimism seemed to be diminishing somewhat. Consumers are still wary about the future, but this is not surprising in view of the employment situation. Along with Belgium and Great Britain, Holland has one of the highest unemployment rates in the European Community. According to the OECD, unemployment in Holland is now running at 16.5 percent of the working population, while the Dutch set the figure at 17.4 percent. The Dutch predict that that figure will surpass 20 percent in the coming year. The Dutch government says that purse strings must be tightened since the budget deficit, as prescribed in the government's agreement, must be limited to 7.4 percent of the national income by 1986.

2399

CSO: 3620/456

ECONOMIC

CENTRAL BANK: LARGE IMPROVEMENT IN FOREIGN COMPETITIVENESS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Sep 83 p 29

[Article by Bjorn H. Tretvoll]

[Text] The competitiveness of Norwegian industry will be 4-5 percent stronger from last year to this, mainly as a result of the depreciation of the exchange rate of the kronen in the fall of 1982, according to calculations presented by the Bank of Norway in its new market survey. The bank points out that prospects for the Norwegian economy indicate rising unemployment over the next 12 months.

But the various employment steps taken by the authorities could lead to a stabilization or just a slight increase in the seasonally-adjusted unemployment figures. Seasonally-adjusted unemployment has recently risen following a tendency toward leveling off.

The market-sensitive segments of the Norwegian economy have not yet come up from the trough of the market wave. The exception in this context is the Norwegian export industry which is showing a clearly stronger trend as a result of increased orders received from abroad. Total production and demand in Norway developed somewhat more weakly in the second quarter than had been anticipated.

Experience from previous market developments suggests that the upswing in foreign demand will spread to other segments of the Norwegian economy sometime in 1984, in the opinion of the Bank of Norway.

Norwegian industrial competitiveness, measured in terms of wage costs per unit produced, is expected to improve by 4-5 percent from 1982 to 1983. The main reason for this is a decline in the value of the kronen of almost 5 percent. From the fourth quarter of last year to the fourth quarter of this year, a period when developments were not affected by course policy measures, it appears that competitiveness will remain basically unchanged. With a moderate wage settlement next year too and reduced wage drift, the improvement that was achieved as a result of the exchange rate adjustments in 1982 should also be maintained into 1984.

Price developments since the beginning of the year correspond to an annual growth rate in consumer prices of 5.6 percent, according to the survey. The average price increase from 1982 to 1983 will probably be 8 1/4 percent. The slower price increase tempo we have experienced in this country in the current year can be attributed primarily to developments for Norwegian-produced goods, both those that are affected by world market prices and those that are mainly determined by domestic conditions, the Bank of Norway pointed out.

In the first half of this year, wage costs in industries were 10.8 percent higher than they were in the same period last year. With the kind of wage drift anticipated during the spring contract talks, e.g. 5 percent, the increase in hourly wages for the year as a whole will be 8 percent.

In our vital market countries it appears that growth in consumer prices could come down to 5-5.5 percent next year while growth in wage 14500 per unit produced could be 2.5-3 percent. This means that further dealthes in the growth rate of Norwegian prices and costs must continue to represent a central task in forming economic policy, the Bank of Norway stated.

The international development is dominated by the fact that the rising market has gained greater strength as time goes by, especially in the United States. In Europe the trends toward a rising market remain modest and unclear with signs of a moderate upturn in West Germany and Great Britain while the prospects in France and Italy still look bleak, according to the Bank of Norway.

6578

CSO: 3639/3

ECONOMIC

#### BRIEFS

SURPLUS IN CURRENT ACCOUNTS BALANCE -- The surplus in the foreign operating budget for the first half of this year was close to 7 billion kroner, more than twice the amount in the first half of 1982. The current year could give a surplus in the operating budget of around 13-15 billion kroner, which would be higher than the record surplus of 1981, the Central Statistics Bureau revealed. In the estimate for 1983, the export value of crude oil and natural gas is assumed to be roughly unchanged from the first to the second half and the value is not adjusted downward as it is in national budgets. The estimate is also based on the assumption that export values for traditional goods will grow moderately in the second half of this year while the import values for traditional products will rise more sharply. The preliminary foreign balance is for 6.917 billion kroner compared to 3.132 billion kroner in the same period in 1982. The improvement is attributed to a substantial increase in the export value of crude oil and reduced deficits in trade with traditional goods. This reduced deficit is due to an increase of around 10 percent in the value of exports while import values increased very little. The increase in imports of ships, oil platforms and direct imports to the North Sea and a worsening in both the balance of services and in the interest and subsidy balance worked in the opposite direction, according to the Central Statistics Bureau. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Sep 83 p 29]

TECHNOLOGY SALES TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA--"Norwegian industry has great possibilities for selling technology to Czechoslovakia, which is on the brink of a comprehensive modernization of its industry, including the ferro-alloy industry and the aluminum plants," Trade Minister Asbjorn Haugstvedt said when he came back from his official visit to Czechoslovakia. There he had talks with several undersecretaries. "The talks were constructive and conducted in a friendly atmosphere. At a time of international tension it is important to maintain trade and international contacts between East and West," said Haugstvedt. In addition to export opportunities for Norwegian technology, he pointed in particular to the fact that Norwegian fish holds a strong position in that country. Among other things the Norwegian delegation visited the import firm, Kaspol, which buys frozen Norwegian fish products. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Sep 83 p 28] 6578

cso: 3639/3

RECONOMIC

#### GLOOMY PROSPECTS FOR MADRID-EEC ENTRY NEGOTIATIONS IN ATHENS

#### Marin Admits U.S. Pressure

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 1 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] The secretary of state for relations with the European Economic Community (EEC), Manuel Marin, admitted yesterday in Brussels that the Americans had pressured Spain to enter the EEC and thus reinforce its presence in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Foreign Minister Fernando Moran, for his part, in Washington yesterday once again linked Spain's presence in NATO with the solution to the dispute over Gibraltar.

In a press conference in Brussels, Marin asserted that if the EEC cannot offer any chance to negotiate after the European "summit" in Athens in December, then "we will not be able to continue negotiating."

After this apparent expression of pessimism, the secretary of state declared that "we must keep our hopes up." Marin called upon the French government to explain why Paris is not only refusing now to negotiate the chapter on agriculture with Spain until there is an internal EEC agreement on greater protection for fruits and vegetables, but is also refusing to allow the EEC technical services to examine the document prepared by the European Commission on this chapter.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Fernando Moran explained that in New York he had met with Claude Cheysson and Jacques Delors, French ministers of foreign affairs and economics, respectively. "At the ministerial meeting of 12 October in Luxembourg, we will conclude the chapter on industry and customs," stated Moran, "including the special statutes for Ceuta, Melilla and the Canary Islands. Then we will begin the agriculture chapter, although it may be difficult to make any progress before the European summit in Athens next December." Moran indicated that while officially "there is no connection," the dispute between Spain and Great Britain over Gibraltar does have an impact on the NATO chapter. "The difficulty appears to lie in being a member of a military organization, one of whose member states maintains a colony in Spain."

The secretary of state for relations with the EEC criticized the recent press conference given by French Ambassador to Spain Pierre Guidoni, claiming that

"he had maintained an unreasonable attitude" by speaking for the Spanish government and saying that Madrid and Paris shared the same ideas about the expansion. This newspaper has learned that the Spanish authorities have withdrawn the French ambassador's accreditation.

French Reluctance to Negotiate Scored

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 1 Oct 83 p 40

[Article by Andres Ortega]

[Text] Brussels—If the EEC cannot offer any chance of negotiating after the European summit in December, "we will not be able to continue negotiating," indicated Manuel Marin, secretary of state for relations with the EEC, in Brussels yesterday. He added, however, that "we must keep our hopes up." In addition, Marin called upon the French government to explain why Paris is refusing not only to negotiate the agriculture chapter with Spain until an internal agreement can be reached in the EEC for greater protection of fruits and vegetables—a "prior condition" demanded by the Spanish negotiators—but also to allow the EEC technical services to examine the document prepared by the European Commission regarding this chapter. Marin claimed that the French ambassador to Madrid, Pierre Guidoni, had an "unreasonable attitude" when he spoke on behalf of the Spanish government at a press conference, asserting that Madrid and Paris shared the same ideas about the expansion. EL PAIS has learned that Spanish authorities have withdrawn the ambassador's accreditation.

Marin, who held an official bilateral meeting yesterday with his Belgian counterpart, Paul De Keersmaeker, indicated that "if the EEC is not capable of emerging from its internal crisis, the negotiations will undergo difficult, if not impossible, times."

In addition, Manuel Marin admitted that the Americans had pressured Spain to join the EEC and thus reinforce its presence in NATO.

8926

CSO: 3548/12

ECONOMIC

MANAUTE ON ANDALUSIAN LAND EXPROPRIATION. CLASSIFICATION

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 1 Oct 83 p 42

[Article by Salvador Arancibia]

[Text] Madrid—Miguel Manaute, agriculture minister of the Andalusian Council, stated yesterday in his speech at the closing session on agrarian reform organized by the Universidad Internacional Menendez Pelayo in Seville, that any property expropriated under this law will be publicly owned, and its use and benefit will be turned over to associative organizations. The minister stated categorically that no one should expect agrarian reform to solve the unemployment problem, although it may indeed help alleviate it.

In his speech, Manaute focused on several aspects of the agrarian reform plan that is being proposed, but he indicated that he was doing so only from the viewpoint of a person who has worked in agriculture and who, at present, has direct responsibility over it in the Amalusian Council. The minister expressed the opinion that the agrarian reform plan must be understood within the overall development process of the Andalusian community, and that the basic concept to deal with was the "mobilization of all resources that are not being optimally utilized" for the purpose of "redistributing land ownership or land use rights."

Manaute conceded that the Andalusian community does not have the legal capacity to pass new regulations on possible new land expropriations, but he stated that the Law on Obviously Improvable Property and the Agrarian Development Law both provide ample opportunity for action.

In this regard, actions taken in agrarian reform will include large holdings as well as small ones. The legal possibility of acting on all lands in Andalucia is justified, in the opinion of legal experts, by the constitutional recognition of the social function of land ownership.

In the agrarian reform plan being studied by the Andalusian Council, the basic instrument for action will be the declaration of improvable districts, thus overcoming the obstacle presented until now by the requirement that this action be applied only to depressed districts.

Once a district is declared improvable, limits will be placed on the area of land to be affected by Andalusian Administration actions. All holdings

located within that district must present a statement containing land use plans for the previous 5 years.

#### Four Categories

Property subject to improvement will be classified in four categories, according to production potential and the district average. The lowest category will be made up of those holdings whose productivity equals 25 to 30 percent of the district average. The second category will comprise the holdings whose productivity is between 30 and 100 percent of the average. Category three will consist of properties whose productivity is near the district average. Finally, the fourth category will include holdings with productivity higher than the average but not in excess of 90 percent of the district potential.

The Andalusian Administration will take various actions on each holding. For the properties with the lowest real productivity, the land will be expropriated with a low indemnity, without any access to the individual improvement plans provided by law. The maximum price for these holdings has already been established by law at 50 percent of the market price or of the capitalization of the holding's income.

For the group of properties whose productivity is between 30 percent of the average and slightly below the average, the Administration will expropriate these holdings, also without providing the owners with the option of selecting improvement plans. In both cases, it is felt that productivity is so low that the owners have demonstrated a sufficient lack of interest in the property.

The option to make improvements to enhance the efficiency of the holdings will be allowed for those whose productivity is at or above the district average. In any case, there is an apparent desire to shorten the period between the time the decision is made to improve the property and the current legal deadlines.

Finally, the properties whose yield is well above the district average, and below 90 percent of the highest potential, will be subject to a progressive tax on the difference between individual productivity achieved and the district potential. This represents a more subtle attempt to force the land owners to intensify activity on the agrarian holding, or to maintain the level of activity in exchange for a higher tax. The revenues from that tax will necessarily have to be spent within the district.

8925 CSO: 3548/12 POLITICAL BELGIUM

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES IN MARTENS' ABSENCE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Au. 83 p 4

[Article: "Martens Is the Key Figure in Belgium; the Prime Minister's Illness/ the Austerity Program/the Steel Industry"]

[Text] Brussels, 8 Aug-The report of Prime Minister Martens' cardiac operation has completely surprised the holiday-minded Belgian domestic political scene. On Monday the King and Queen visited the ailing head of government in a Louvian clinic, where already on Sunday he had been transferred from intensive care to normal treatment. The medical bulletins spoke of the satisfactory condition of the patient, who had received an artificial heart valve. According to previous reports, Martens will not be able to carry out his official duties for the next two months. The government will be headed during this time by liberal Vice Prime Minister Gol.

Martens had kept the necessary operation a secret up to the last moment, in order not to handicap the difficult negotiations within the government over the 1984 draft budget. The Belgian newspapers have esteemed this behavior on the part of the prime minister as a sign of a pronounced sense of duty and responsibility. The Flemish STANDAARD called him a courageous man who has earned the respect of the country. Martens had managed once again to master the government crisis (which had been smoldering for weeks), and to put through a united line for the controversial questions in a cabinet of Flemish and Walloon ministers.

So far the Belgian newspapers have been 'very cautious in their ærdict about the possible political consequences of Martens' condition. The doctors have predicted that he will regain his productive powers. However, there have not been any official announcements about possible consequences for government activity. But it is doubtlessly clear to the leading politicians of the Christian-Democratic and Liberal ruling parties that a rather long incapacitation on Martens' part would be a strong handicap for the coalition. He has become the key figure in the fragile ruling majority which must balance Flemish and Walloon antagonisms and the differing interests of the majority parties. It is questionable whether another prime minister would have succeeded in holding the coalition together in recent months.

#### The Country's Indebtedness Climbs Further

The last 'great effort" of the government before the summer recess was the passing of the basic amount of the 1984 draft budget. Martens had announced that this budget would hurt, and at the same time promised a fair distribution of the sacrifices that all Belgians would have to make. This presentation showed that the government does not shrink back from unpopular measures. The biannual wage and pay adjustments due in public employment in 1984 and 1985 were frozen. Pensions will be adjusted to the still climbing cost of living only if they amount to the equivalent of less than 1650 Marks. The health insurance contributions are increased, while medical fees may rise only moderately. Unemployed youths who live with their parents will receive less support, and short-time work will be more closely regulated. Vacation pay is no longer tax-free.

The matter which was most controversial within the government was a disguised tax ammesty which restrains fiscal authorities from inquiring about the origin of the money which is flowing into the building industry. It is hoped that this will result in a return of flight capital and support for investment activity. With the tax ammesty an old demand of the liberals is fulfilled.

All efforts towards economy cannot however do anything to alter the fact of a deficit in the state budget of a good 500 billion francs (25 billion marks). That is 11.5 percent of the Belgian gross national product and so significantly more than the European average of 7 percent. The already sizable indeptedness of the country increases further through this deficit. In 1981 the government had promised a rapid reduction, but the indirect tax increases were rejected. The chairman of the opposition Walloon Socialists, Spitaels, called last week's decisions a "francophone Munich" and claimed that the Flemings had won on every point. Earlier, the head of the Walloon regional government, Dehousse, had described the government's resolutions as an unprecedented catastrophe and made Wallonia out to be the orphan of the country.

The excitement and harsh verdict of the Francophone socialist opposition politicians refers primarily to the government's decision about the future of the large Walloon Cockerill-Sambre steelworks and of the prospective financing of the five national industrial branches: stell, coal, ship-building, glass, and textiles. The very complicated settlement (the consequences of which are not yet foreseeable) was an endurance test. The budget minister had already submitted his resignation, and Martens could only prevent a cabinet break-up by refusing to accept this request.

#### A Typical Belgian Compromise

The Walloon steelworks Cockerill-Sambre with its high losses has been the most explosive issue between the two parts of the country for years. The Flemings refuse to put further tax money out of the common treasury at its disposal, and they demand regionalization. The Walloon ministers fight with all the means at their command for the preservation of the works (which employs 22,000).

The compromise is typically Belgian and allows both sides to save face. It enacts a partial regionalizational of the national industries, and transfers a part of the burden of the maintenance of Cockerill-Sambre to Wallonia. A drastic reorganization program for the steelworks, which plans a staff reduction of one-third and the closure of a particular plant, is supposed to be put to vote of the workers. In doing this, the unions are to a large extent excluded. The government has made it clear, however, that it will retire as principal stockholder if its plan is refused, which will inevitably have as its consequence the bankruptcy of the works. Therefore the government's plan approximates an ultimatum, but it is no doubt the only way out of the crisis. After the adoption of the plan, one newspaper called Prime Minister Martens a master of the disentanglement of complicated mechanisms. Whether or not the project will succeed will only be seen in autumn, however.

Before the government could produce even a draft proposal for the explosive steel question, it had obtained for the second time special powers which allowed it to enact legislation in the realm of the economy and finance without the approval of Parliament. The somewhat questionable procedures is justified by Martens by the difficult economic and financial situation of the country, which requires quick decisions without the length route through parliament. Indeed there are many safeguards built in, and the reproach of the opposition, that the government is developing into a dictatorship, is grotesque. Nevertheless it is an astonishing event when the parliamentary majority in a democratic country voluntarily waives its rights; Martens did not have too many difficulties in putting through his demands in any case.

12370

CSO: 3620/428

POLITICAL

### CP ORGAN REVIEWS BOOK ON COUNTERESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES

Copenhagen LAND OG FOLK in Danish 1 Sep 83 p 9

[Article by Allan Fridericia: "Espionage Against Peace: An Exciting and Revealing Book Filled with Facts"]

[Text] Jesper Hjort and Simon Hansen: "Spies for Peace—the Intelligence Service's War Against the Peace Movement." The Fredsbevaegelsens Publishing House, 116 pages (illustrated) 60.00 kroner.

"Spies for Peace" is thrilling and worth reading. At the same time it is so filled with facts that in the long term the reader will have use for it as a reference book. We become acquainted with some of the great "espionage" cases during the NATO period where the authors discuss the course of events and contemporary judgements. The authors have an insight into the internal connection between events. Technically and technologically, a line goes from the Kejsergade monitoring station over the NATO monitoring stations directed towards the Warsaw Pact countries, disclosing in 1983 the very central position the U.S. stations in Greenland hold in U.S. offensive strategy, the main objective of which is the total elimination of Soviet defense through a surprise attack.

#### Difficult Cooperation

In this technical explanation, a minor point strengthens the impression of a conspiracy between the Swedish military and NATO. It is pointed out how the number of antennas and appearance of an electronic intelligence station on Amager corresponds completely to a station outside Stockholm—while it, however, does /not/ [in italics] correspond to any such station within the NATO Alliance. A cooperation that is directly tangible through "friendly turns" of one country's intelligence service helps the other country. Here the prehistory in the book which discloses the offensive U.S. installations in Greenland becomes useful: at Danish request, the peace researcher Owen Wilkens was arrested by the Swedish Sapo and /at Danish request/ [in italics] the material about Denmark and Greenland was not returned to the researcher.

The political observation of people in Denmark has a long tradition. The authors correctly point out the friendly cooperation that was to be found between the tzar and the secret police and give an outline of the not very

nervic connectio: between the Gestapo and "department D" against the antifascist in the late thirties.

The Social Democratic Party and NATO

when the intelligence service, however, received a mich more central position after Denmark joined NATO, the authors concentrate on two factors: the internal opposition within the Social Democratic Party (which made the NATO promoters close their eyes to the manipulations of the intelligence service for fear of the critically minded colleagues) and the increasing importance of psychological warfare/misinformation from the American side.

Danish governments have often accused the Warsaw Pact countries of "misin-formation" through the peace movement here at home. But through interviews, the authors have not been successful in obtaining anything concrete. In the instances where the allegations have been circulated by the mass media (as in the case of writer Arne Herlov Petersen and Samarbejdskomiteen), they disintegrate—while the main objective, the casting of suspicion, remains. The same method was used against the organization of draftees and in many other instances mentioned in the book.

The book is easy to read. It is to be recommended. Perhaps the Fredsforlaget should publish a name and case index.

The investigation was originally carried out as a final examination work at the Denmark School of Journalism. According to the introduction by Kurt Francis Madsen, it became a "first rate journalistic research" which is an accurate evaluation.

9583

CSO: 3613/204

POLITICAL

KRASUCKI ON STRIKES, CNPP, SOCIAL SECURITY ELECTIONS

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 9 Sep 83 p 10

[Article by Jean-Pierre Vaudon: "With the Workers, a Dynamic and Constructive CCT"]

[Text] Addressing a large number of Paris area militants, Henri Krasucki emphasized that trade union activity has a duty to assess clearly, to make imaginative and realistic proposals, and to act appropriately.

Henri Krasucki declares in his opening statement: "What is the main concern of the working man or woman right now? Their tax returns are material evidence of the drain on their resources; Back-to-school expenses and the worry caused by the circumstances of that return to school, for many people and social protection, under attack in so many aspects.

"Announced or threatened layoffs and closings: those directly affected, those who worry about the future, and young people and their families who fear a reduction in job openings. There is a real chance that unemployment will increase. As we have said, in the areas of employment and purchasing power, things are not going well."

Assessing, Proposing, Acting

"The CGT, the workers' union, shares their concerns, addressing these problems with the necessary honesty and firmness. The CGT is with the wage earners every step of the way to defend their interests effectively and to join them in exerting the right kind of influence on the course of events.

"Indeed, today more than in the past, there are possible ways to avoid or alleviate certain negative steps, and, on the other hand, to advance major positive steps.

"To access clearly, to make imaginative and realistic proposals, and to act appropriately with the workers: this is what the CGT's militant members need to do, together with the workers.

"At this time, decisions are being made and steps are being prepared that will have a major significance and consequences throughout the forthcoming period." Analyzing the circumstances of all those events, the CGT secretary general adds: "The CNPF [National Council of French Employers], the top levels of management, the reactionaries and the social conservatives are becoming more hostile."

He specifies: "Who indeed enters into a coalition with the far right, and ruthlessly, unhesitatingly, resorts to racism and xenophobia with respect to touchy immigration problems? Unleashing passions and the most arbitrary, irrational and savage reactions to turn the people—and especially the French workers—away from the true causes of the problems, that is not only despicable, it is also very dangerous; we have experienced it in the past. We are appealing to the workers' conscience, and, more broadly, to the conscience of the French people. We must not let hatred or moral blindness continue or spread. Conflicts of interest or political confrontations must not lead to such excesses. All those who have some responsibility for the life of this nation have a duty in this matter, including the CNPF leaders and those of the rightist organizations.

"Be that as it may," he went on," the class struggle continues unabated and we are making a very real assessment of it.

"Who, then, is placing so many pressures on the government to obtain unrestrained layoffs, to chop down unemployment insurance and social safeguards?

"Who, then, is instigating retrenchment, who is unhesitatingly speeding up industrial setbacks within the companies--even some major ones--using setbacks as a weapon of political strife to interfere with the industrial development policy, to increase unemployment and unsettle the government?

"The forces of capitalism and of reaction are above all fearful that the reforms now underway may bear fruit, and that, with the workers' help, things might in time progress towards good solutions with better results.

"What we may find insufficient and subject to criticism, but which includes undeniable successes and which may improve, particularly thanks to labor activity, is much more than those people can bear. They are prepared to do anything to put an end to it as soon as possible, if given the chance.

#### Urgent Issues

Henri Krasucki also condemns the permanent existence "of unacceptable behavior in publicly-owned companies and even in the high ranks of government agencies and ministries. "There lies the source of certain conflicts," he warns: "The workers and the unions, by their actions, can do something about it, but also, and above all, so can the government. It is its job to enforce the normal rules. It is also to its advantage, as those who abuse their position in this manner appear to be representatives of the government."

Noting that such enormous pressure on the part of the forces of the past "creates problems and gives rise to hesitations," Henri Krasucki declares: "This, basically, is where the fighting takes place. This is the weight that workers and unionism must offset.

"By clearly identifying our opponent and by acting accordingly, we can only improve our position with the workers, to act in the best possible manner and in their best interests in regard to those governmental steps that arouse their discontent, their worries and our disagreements."

Henri Krasucki stresses that, among the most urgent issues, the problem of employment and that of purchasing power are inseparable: "Unemployment cannot be fought by reducing the purchasing power of the majority, nor can a significant and lasting improvement be made in the purchasing power of the majority without reducing unemployment and developing the resulting wealth."

He then enumerates the urgent issues concerning salaries and retirement plans: "The announced appointments must be kept and the commitments made regarding adjustments in relation to the actual 1983 inflation must be honored. Negotiations for 1984 must start on time. The purchasing power of the SMIC [Inter-occupational Minimum Growth Wage] must improve and it is time to start reorganizing the remuneration systems."

#### More Social Justice

He then reminds his listeners that "in order to turn back unemployment and to steady the purchasing power and social safeguards, the main question to ask is indeed: 'How can economy be restored? How can industry be developed, as well as the services, particularly public works? The issue of financing cannot be avoided, but this is precisely what will determine the fate of a leftwing policy capable of taking real steps out of this crisis.'" He recalls the CGT's criticism directed toward certain points in the austerity plan which were reducing the purchasing power of too many people of modest means. He stresses that the 1 percent that is weighing heavily on so many workers in 1983 "does not look any better for 1984." As to withholding from higher incomes and salaries, "making a distinction is good, but they are hitting too low." He goes on: "The drop in purchasing power leads to zero growth. This is easily accepted by some.

"However, stagnation means higher unemployment and further setbacks in purchasing power. There is no future for the Left in that direction.

"Growth must be resumed. And to finance it, we need more, definitely more, social justice."

Thus, "since it was considered possible to save 15 billion francs out of a budget of some 900 billion by trimming from some needed and expected job increases and from services beneficial to the people, how can we think that it would not be possible to withhold some 25 billion from the 1,500 billion wealth (I do say 'wealth' rather than 'income,') declared by the 110,000 households that are the best-provided in the nation?"

"Well, take those 25 billion and apply them to industry, to services, to employment. You will have the means to be effective and you will have accomplished a tangible act of social justice, that will be recognized as such by the workers and by most of the people. Many things, then, will take on a different appearance, because austerity is necessary if it is a more equitable thing, and the workers are capable of many efforts if they are convinced that they make sense.

"At this point they don't believe in it, because they don't see where justice lies, because they don't see what purpose it serves, and because they don't really see relationships changing in labor, or their voice making a real difference.

"Let us then take a definite step towards more justice in the next budget. Let it be established that it is designed for dynamic steps in the fields of industry, public works and employment. And let the state-owned companies set the example in implementing the newly-acquired rights.

"Then we shall start noticing the real treasure our nation possesses, in the spirit of initiative and inventiveness, in the sense of effectiveness and perseverance, that are buried deep inside the world of labor and that are released only when labor is convinced that they will be put to good use, and when it is given the proper tools to do it.

"Yes, I do reaffirm that if we proceed in this direction, the CGT will be able to contribute to the mobilization of those forces to the workers' own advantage and in the national interest. There lies France's greatest asset."

The CGT secretary general stresses the decisive issue: creating employment in industry and in the service sector. He recalls the proposals formulated on 25 August by the CGT leadership to give more impetus to industrial development in generating employment: "There you can find the source of thousands of ideas, initiatives and actions by CGT organizations, together with the workers and the population," he declares.

Mass Action by the Unions

Henri Krasucki further states: "In recent months, something resembling the dawn of a new start was noticeable. A greater number of initiatives, varied in their objectives and methods, and often rewarded with success—however limited—all show that some union activity, expressed in thoughts and practice, is beginning to take shape.

"We value this all the more because, for the past 2 years, the CGT has been insisting, with a consistency that should be recognized, on the idea that: 'Nothing will be accomplished unless the workers become involved in it.'

"Another idea is that, in these new circumstances we are experiencing, we, as well as the workers, have an apprenticeship ahead of us, to determine the objectives and methods of expression and action that will be effective and appropriate."

"What was, and still is, needed, are factual experience, frank debate and realistic initiatives by CGT organizations, in order to keep things moving and to replace delusion and disappointment with lucidity and initiative.

"The idea is gradually shaping up that mass action by the trade unions remains in all cases an indispensable condition of any progress, that we cannot expect everything to come only from the actions of the government—even a leftist one—, that a class opponent exists, remains strong and is fighting, but also that social gains are quite real and that the workers are in a better position than in the past to defend their interests and to keep things going in a progressive direction.

"Since we have to solve concrete problems, the place to confront them is where they are located in the work place, in their respective section or department. Everywhere the objectives match the workers' exact concerns, what they feel is necessary and possible, based on our proposals and their own ideas. And the methods of operation are those that will be backed by the majority, according to what we shall determine together to be the most effective."

Referring to the various objectives of trade unionism, he recalls, for instance, the right—which has now been achieved—to stop a machine determined to be dangerous: "That right is not widely known," he says. "And it is up to the CGT organizations to make it known, as well as all other newly-acquired rights."

Describing the wide variety of problems in the field of trade unionism, Henri Krasucki specifies: "Every time, in every case, we must find the touchy problem, a useful proposal to solve it, and the most appropriate method of operation to succeed.

"We have made a start; something is stirring. We must go deeper into our awareness of the new realities of the social struggle, and into the implementation of constant and collective input on the part of the workers.

"No, we are not put off by difficulties, by obstacles, or by hard work.

"There is much to conquer and much to build to effect a change in a way of life.

"You only need to see the spitefulness and virulence of the champions of the past to realize that we are on the right track, if we only act with our eyes wide open. And if we persevere."

Social Security Flections

Henri Krasucki reminds his audience that Social Security elections will take place in 6 weeks. "This vote is comparable to no other. Never have there been so many people enrolled in Social Security. Many more than there are salaried workers." Ballots will be cast by 32 million persons.

He alludes to the problem of financing, which "could be taken care of by means that are far from extreme, as long as we use more justice and reason." Four steps have been proposed by the CGT:

- -- Basing dues on the total amount of salaries.
- --Establishing a distribution that will relieve companies using a great deal of labor--which will promote employment--by requiring more from those which make bigger profits with fewer jobs.
- --It is fair to have income other than wages contribute to the financing of Social Security.
- -- And it is normal to have the state participate in the financing as regards those expenses that are actually its domain.

He continues: "The most serious problem is the very existence of Social Security. The real stake of this battle, even beyond the election, is whether social safeguards, and primarily Social Security, will be retained or chopped off. It is a fact that the CNFF and some major retrograde forces want to take us back half a century."

Henri Krasucki quotes a text by the CNPF organization, from the Rhone-Alps area, that says: "In many cases a majority may emerge within councils, to adopt a type of management reflecting our wishes. He specifies: The possibility sought by the CNPF does exist. There are labor organizations ready to get along with the CNPF to eliminate the CGT from the management of Social Security. This, by the way, has been happening since 1967, with FO [Workers' Force] and some others."

The danger is serious. What is the defense? It should lie in the unity of labor organizations.

"For its part, the CGT is making a solemn commitment to manage Social Security in a spirit of unity, with all representatives of the insured, who are determined to defend the interests of those insured, and to defeat management's attempts to reduce Social Security."

And Henri Krasucki calls the CCT to vote "to prevent that type of coalition and to allow a unified, labor, social-minded management of Social Security."

In those elections, the CCT has a monumental task: First of all, within the companies. But it must also contact all voters who are not active wage-earners, that is, in the cities and villages, and on the marketplaces. It has to speak to the high schools, to the students, to the unemployed, to the immigrant workers, and to the teachers. Ballots are also being cast for family allowance funds, therefore the CGT must also speak to families.

"To respond to all those needs," Henri Krasucki states, "there is one meeting place: let everyone go to the local organizations." He announced that 6,000 groups have already been organized in townships and neighborhoods, and that CCT lists including 5,500 candidates have already been set up.

#### Ending International Tension

Alluding next to the international situation, the CGT secretary general declares: "The tragedy that has taken place involving a South Korean airliner has caused deep emotion, which we share. We also wish to express a desire to find out the entire truth on both sides, because so far things have been far from clear. All circumstances and responsibilities must be clearly established.

"This tragedy, where 269 civilians perished, reminds all inhabitants of our planet of the dangers of a situation which may generate even worse disasters. By living amidst the permanent and extreme tension caused by this awful balance of terror, in the escalation of the arms race, in a continuing confrontation, we are multiplying the risks that may occur on both sides."

He adds: "We share the anguish and the reaction of peace loving forces stirring in all neighboring countries. Our ideas, both in France and beyond our borders, may be quite different on many topics. But, like the unions of the FRG and those of many other European countries, and like the very diverse movements that are gathered there, together with those who contributed to the huge celebration of peace on 19 June in Vincennes, we are saying: in order to think, even differently, one must first exist."

"We must put an end to this intolerable tension," the CGT secretary general concludes. "We must impose detente, develop international cooperation and peaceful coexistence."

Henri Krasucki then draws the attention of militants to this shared responsibility: "To do everything necessary to be the kind of CGT that is needed to-day. He calls on them not to relax their efforts in that direction, not to miss the start of the new ball game in 1984, and to keep correcting their faults.

11,936

CSO: 3519/620

POLITICAL

LANGIGNON: KAL INCIDENT SHOULD STOP MISSILE INSTALLATION

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 26 Sep 83 p 5

[Interview with Michel Langignon, national secretary of Peace Movement, edited by Maryse LeLarge, date and place not specified]

[Text] This weekend the national council of the Peace Movement met a Villejuif. Only a few weeks before the demonstrations that will coincide with the end of October and UN disarmament week, we met with Michel Langignon, national secretary of the Peace Movement.

[Question] Here at the completion of the work of your national council, would you please give us your view of the world situation today.

[Answer] The outstanding feature of the international situation in 1983 is the strength of the popular movement in favor of disarmament. And this is true despite the thunder of bombs, particularly in Lebanon. While the opponents of peace are claiming that this vast, very diverse, movement is wavering, in fact the mobilization has never been so great. In the FRG, for example, not a weekend, not a week, passes without a major activity. Public opinion has never declared itself with such force in so many countries in support of disarmament. It represents a decisive factor for both present and future.

[Question] Yet the number of nuclear weapons accumulated round the world has never been so great.

[Answer] That is true. In the world there are now a million and a half bombs equivalent to the one dropped on Hiroshima, enough to blow up the planet 17 times over. This shows the extent of the work still to be done to halt this death race. However, that is not the only aspect of this cality. As Einstein said, the nuclear weapon changed everything except our way of thinking. Too often, people still have in their heads the old plans, as if a nuclear conflict could be compared, in respect to effects and consequences, with a war using conventional weapons. They would still like to impose on us the old saying that if you want peace you must prepare for war. In fact, the only way to assure that no one will ever use this weapon of mass destruction, which would topple the world into horror in the period of a few minutes, is to ban it.

We must therefore break up this process of constantly accumulating more weapons on one side and the other, we must make it possible to get rid of mistrust and bring back confidence. We must reduce weapons both in the East and in the West to their lowest level.

[Question] What should be France's role in this movement?

[Answer] First, I would like to remind you that our country, in all its diversity, has already fully taken its place in this movement in favor of disarmament. As early as 25 October 1981, 100,000 people gathered at the Pantin Gate to approve the Paris Appeal. The million signatures collected on the appeal were sent to the United Nations. The march of 20 June 1982 gave new impetus to the struggle for peace in France. Finally, the Vincennes rally on 19 June 1983, with its 500,000 participants, showed how ridiculous were the assertions by some that France was "out of it." Today, the Peace Movement is proposing to do even more, and the indications we are getting with the approach of the demonstrations planned for the end of October are very promising.

[Question] Is France directly involved?

[Answer] Indeed, I would say that France justifiably feels directly involved. Various polls have shown that the peace issue concerns a very large majority of French men and women. The urgent imminent issue is to prevent installations of any new missile in Europe. Imagine if a nuclear bomb exploded on the Palatinate in the FRG, where the United States wants to locate Pershings, the people of Strasbourg who may have kept their eyes open at that moment would be immediately blinded. So you see, even if these new missiles are not installed in French gardens, our country is directly involved. I would add that the latest international events, and I am thinking of the Boeing tragedy, only increase the urgency of a progressive disarmament. Particularly since the Palatinate is 75 kilometers from one of the largest airports in Europe. Many planes taking off from or landing at Frankfurt will no doubt fly over it.

[Question] Then what is at stake in the demonstrations you are organizing at the end of October?

[Answer] As I said a moment ago, all indications are that the peace chains and the six regional rallies to be held in France on 22 October, the same day as three big meetings in the FRG, will be a very important development. We have already been joined by 27 organizations to assure success. People feel that something must be done. They must be able to say: "That was a big event in the struggle and I was there." What is needed is a commitment. Today, this commitment must measure up to the decision that will be made within the 3 months, a decision that will place in jeopardy the future of our children and future generations. That is why I say: we must participate, and I would address myself particularly to the youth, because it is their future that they are creating.

In regard to the armaments race, we have everything to lose by escalation, and everything to gain by deescalation.

9920

CSO: 3519/22

POLITICAL

#### PCF-COMMUNIST YOUTH MOVEMENT JOINT STATEMENT

Paris L'HUMANITÉ in French 26 Sep 83 p 4

[Text] "Reaching out to the young and joining them in action" is the title of the joint communiqué issued at the conclusion of Friday's meeting between the French Communist Party and the Communist Youth Movement (MJFC). the following is the complete text of the statement.

The Left has now arrived at the mid-point of its mandate. The young expect a great deal of it. Some sound measures have been taken. Today, though, the young are speaking out, voicing their impatience to see their hopes realized.

That impatience demands a knowledgeable hearing, and perceptive interpretation of its logical implications. The truth is that the vital participation of young people in the people's struggle to remake this country is not to be bought with words. It must be earned by tangible acts, by practical decisions, and by palpable changes. It will be won, too, if young people themselves lend a hand.

Keenly aware of this state of affairs, of youth's aspirations as well as its concerns, the communists are determined to reach out to the young and to join them in action to move in this direction.

The Ravages of the Crisis

Young people are still feeling keenly the impact of the recession. They are particularly frustrated by the gap they see between their everyday lives and the possibilities inherent in our time. All too often, their lives are still distorted by the burdens of joblessness, by the instability that makes planning impossible, by the uncertainty that blights all ambition; it is the woefully inadequate level of training and skills acquisition needed to master the scientific and technical advancements of our time; it is their inability to afford the housing, the recreation, the sport of their choice.

Because in youth the whole future of this country is at stake, we herewith affirm the right of young people to jobs, to training, to housing, to recreation, and to sports. Providing for the exercise of this right is a vital responsibility for a society like ours. Fighting for its implementation is a duty for the young themselves and for all our people.

Some encouraging steps have been taken by the government. Some intentions have been clearly stated. They have the support of the communists, and they will meet with a hearty welcome from the young once they become part of real life.

#### Some Governmental Measures

A broad-based effort is under way to provide a second chance for young people who have completed their schooling but have no training. Some steps have been taken to make a start at changing our schools. New contracts have been signed with corporations willing to provide job training with a promise of employment. Since 1981, hundreds of thousands of young people have found permanent jobs with these companies. Temporary aids and contract workers have been given status in the civil service, or are on their way to achieving it. Extended education plans have allowed a great many young people to take training courses to familiarize themselves with the world of work. The jobless rate for young people under 25 has begun to decline.

All this adds up to a creditable record. The extent and gravity of the remaining difficulties and problems, however, demand implementation of a major policy giving priority to the problems of the young and appropriating additional funds for the purpose.

As of today, we must redouble our efforts to come up with practical proposals designed to make youth a time of learning, of enrichment, of acquiring and honing skills -- in the schools, at the university, on the job -- rather than years of waiting, of uncertainty, of broken dreams that breed only feelings of rejection and the scourge of drug addiction and delinquency. On this score, while well aware of the conditions that breed these evils, for our part we shall go on speaking the plain truth to young people, encouraging them to say a firm "no" to all these dead-end streets.

We are certain that young people are ready to listen to such tough straight talk. They are ready to shoulder their responsibilities, and they will not quail before the effort.

This is why we confidently call upon youth to take its rightful place in overcoming the difficulties, in daring to grasp at all its new-won rights and, in so doing, to to get our society moving toward more perfect social justice, a more efficient economy, and truer and fuller democracy.

We are encouraged about this approach by the way young people have themselves responded to the "Rigout Courses." They proved that they would indeed listen to a policy addressed to them as responsible citizens, that they know what is good for them, and that they are ready and willing to respond through efforts of their own as advocates of new approaches.

Given these conditions, we can only regret that the mass media persist in projecting an incomplete and distorted image of the young, highlighting the least admirable, most violent, most aberrant behavior patters, and thereby create an arbitrary generation gap.

In many instances, young people use their startling behavior to externalize the problems besetting our crisis-ridden society. But they are at the same time the ones who voice the aspiration to a new life-style, one that fits right into our time, one that seeks more brotherly, more human social relationships.

# Anti-Youth Law

In this context, nothing is more wrong or more harmful than trying to gain credence for the notion that technical progress -- as evidenced by the advent of robots in the work-place -- must perforce lead to trouble and privation for people. The truth is that mastering these achievements in science and technology demands a new approach to thinking about the economy, giving a more active, more meaningful role to all producers, and letting young people know that we do indeed rely on them and have confidence in them.

In their violent campaign against the commitment made by the Left's majority, the Right and the monied forces are adamant in their opposition to this course, which would threaten their privileged positions. They reject any improvement in the area of education and training, any implementation of new rights.

This is why they are bringing pressure to bear in favor of using young people as an uncertain, unstable, and unskilled labor pool. They bar them from enrollment in any training, upgrading, or promotion process within the corporation.

In the cities where it governs, the Right works day and night to crush all attempts to find jobs and training opportunities for the young, to undermine any attempt at forming youth associations, to cut off their access to cultural and sports opportunities. In a word, they are doing their level best to prolong and perpetuate the anti-youth policy that has been pursued for so many years. Plans and action of this sort must be resolutely challenged by all those affected by it, and young people must contribute their full share.

In a frontal attack on the problems facing young people, with realism and determination to succeed, all progressive forces, and most particularly the communists, the working-class movement must make this action part of its commitment to develop and pursue a policy consonant with the interests of our people and our country. Viewed from this angle, several issues cry out for action on a priority basis:

## Creating Jobs

Creating jobs for young people, using all available approaches to the problem, including:

- -- increasing the number of training-hiring contracts to create the new jobs young people need;
- -- using those training-hiring contracts to open the way for 200,000 young people into jobs in business and industry;
- -- keeping an eye, along with the company committees and labor unions, on solidarity contracts, on cutbacks in on-the-job time, on early retirement and the like, to make sure all of them translate into actual hiring of young workers;
- -- responding to the need of young wage-earners to be informed on and listened to on corporate affairs, job organization, and the ins and outs of training and production, and taking action to ensure that workers' certification and training-course diplomas are taken into account when job assignments and wages are at stake.

# Expanded Training

- -- moving ahead with teachers, parents, and labor unions to press for meaningful, substantive change in the schools, aiming at excellence in education, upgrading vocational education and training for the skilled trades, pushing hard for the crucially needed changes in our high schools, our preparatory schools, and our universities.
- -- modifying and updating the educational track system -- at all levels -- to bring them into the late-20th-century world of work.
- -- applying, in all areas, the criterion of skills training as one of the most profitable and most urgently needed of investments.
- -- Expanding and increasing funding for basic skills training, particularly in the electronics and applied physics laboratories (LEPs). Increasing the numbers and diversification of our university-level technical institutes (IUTs). Restoring the apprenticeship system and making sure it actually provides proper training. Providing and insuring ongoing and vocational training for adults. Increasing opportunities for short-term catch-up courses.
- -- Taking action to make sure that all enterprise -- beginning with the public and nationalized companies -- take part in this national effort by opening apprentice schools, training shops, and assigning cadres, technicians, and skilled workers to help train

youthful recruits to their companies. Keeping a watchful eye on the quality of courses offered to extended-education trainees still attending school.

- -- Correcting the still shameful social inequities in the educational field by providing children of low-income families with the financial means they need to get good basic education and access to marketable skills.
- -- Insuring girls' access to all kinds of vocational training, and hence—taking urgently needed measures, beginning with the elementary schools and the orientation program, to turn around the system that, even now, pushes the majority of girls into dead-end, low-skill occupations, thereby making them the first victims of widespread unemployment.

# Housing Suited to Needs

- -- In municipalities, working with elected officials and all interested parties, focusing sustained attention on housing conditions for young people. Responding to their aspirations to be able to live in their home towns and, if they so desire, close to their families, under conditions that will allow them to begin lives of their own, to live together as husband and wife. To this end, to build apartments in housing clusters, designed to meet their needs and to fit into their budgets.
- -- Put some teeth into the reform bills calling for democratic management of housing projects for young workers. Improve housing conditions for students.
- -- In the larger housing projects, look for ways to bring young people into the work of renovating and humanizing the housing environment.
- -- Meeting the growing need for popular physical and sporting activities as close as possible to the work place, the school, or the home so as to provide propitious conditions for more widespread participation.
- -- Put an end to the arbitrary segregation of children born in France of immigrant parents from other young people. Make sure they enjoy the same rights as other young people, while holding them to the same responsibilities, yet making due allowance for cultural differences.

These proposals, we are convinced, can make our discourse with the young more fruitful, win their support, and motivate them to dynamic and innovative action.

We are not among those who throw up their hands and bemoan the alleged disenchantment of the young. On the contrary, we are sure

that they will heed our call to effort and struggle, because it is uncertainty and inaction that weigh heavily upon them and cast a pall over the future.

We are striving to give the working-class movement in our country the élan and enthusiasm it urgently needs to succeed in the task of renewal. To succeed in this, the movement needs the spunky and inventive contribution of the young.

For Peace and Disarmament

Young people are also noted for their readiness to stand up in defense of the great human causes.

Recent events in France and all over Europe show that a great many young people of all political views and religious professions are deeply concerned at the senseless buildup of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, and are speaking out against the threat of destruction that hangs over our planet.

Expressing the determination of all these young people, the Communist Youth Movement has openly shown its indignation and its revulsion at this monstrous machinery known as the arms race which may well lead, on any tomorrow, to the ultimate horror. War, nuclear war, the war that will end the world -- no! Never!Those in France who take the American side, those who play with fire, those who insult the pacifists and try to discredit their activities deserve only our scorn. Because the gallant struggle of the young Guy Môquet, slain by the nazis, still goes on today, the Communist Youth Movement salutes the fight of these young Germans who are a credit and an honor to their country.

The young people reject this intolerably wasteful spending on arms which keeps us from putting an end, once and for all, to such scourges of another age as underdevelopment, malnutrition, and illiteracy.

The massive participation of young people in the struggle for peace and disarmament is an event of great historic moment, a blessing for all mankind, and one that is destined to grow.

The youth of France, which paid such heavy toll in past years, in the colonial wars, in Indochina and in Algeria, hopes that all conflicts can be settled through discussion and negotiation. The language of words is still a lot better than the thunder of bursting bombs.

Young people will not tolerate the unpunished massacre of those who fight for their freedom, for their country's independence. They demand the right to be different, the right to friendship and to a new kind of cooperation among peoples and nations.

# Building a Democratic Society

In their search for a new way of life -- in the city as well as on the job - what in easingly distinguishes their behavior is their rejection of contrarianism, of outmoded tabus, their thirst for justice, their demand for ever-broader democracy.

In fact, the hallmark of these young people is their quest for a life and a world whose humanity is on a par with the promise held out by scientific and technical advances and with the hopes awakened by the forward march of the world's peoples.

This demand calls for a new development in French society.

That development can come to pass only through an unprecedented rise in the level of knowledgability of the immense majority of French citizens, through a freeing-up of all individual energies. The emergence of new social relationships goes hand in hand with a flowering of individual personalities that are blighted today, hedged round with the barriers of our capitalist society and its rules of exploitation of people for the sole profit of a few.

In fact, these aspirations on the part of so many young people to a new life, to new relationships is a statement in different terms, we are convinced, of what the communists express in their proposal to build a democratic society, run by its members, and consonant with the possibilities and the needs of France and her people.

The job to be done, therefore, is to build bridges, to make more meeting-places, so that we can, together, share in the grand adventure of our time, this crying need of our country: to build socialism, and color it blue, white, and red.

# What the Communists Are Doing

These hard realities are the starting-point for the Communist Party's action in the youth movement and with young people, and they are what put that action at the very heart of its policy.

It orders all its organizations, all its members working in business and industry, in the schools and in the universities, to expand or initiate the indispensable encounters, dialogue, and debate. It calls upon them to join with the young people in any and all initiatives designed to lead to realization of their aspirations. It calls upon its members holding elected office, who, by means of their direct contact with young people and their families, know what their problems are, to seek constantly and ever more intensively with these people for the right solutions to those problems.

This mutual exchange enriches what the communists do and offers to all young people who want it the chance to draw upon the Communist Party's influence so as to make their voices heard more clearly, and to give them more power to act.

Most particularly in the work-place, it is the workers' responsibility to welcome the young, to encourage their becoming part of the working community, to see that their rights are upheld, their demands met, and their aspirations heeded, to help them find their place in the working-class movement and to participate in its battles.

To seek, together with the young people, in their studies, their work, in all of social life, the roads to advancement is, for each Party cell, an essential responsibility, and it must be a continuing concern for every communist.

The French Communist Youth Movement provided some information as to its activities.

Drawing upon the experience of recent years, the National Council of the French Communist Youth Movement stressed the need for more emphatic stress on its organizational character, taking care to include every facet of young people's interests in its efforts to make itself an innovative option in association life.

The success of the Youth Festival at Genevilliers and of the "Speak Up, We're Listening" campaign showed that its role was at once to give young people a chance to express themselves, to act, and to get together, on the basis of their own goals and their own feelings. From this point of view, their patterns of intervention cannot be copies of those earlier generations have followed.

At the same time, the French Communist Youth Movement feels that part of its role is to enable young people to expand their cultural experience, to expand their horizons, to discover the times they live in, and to come together through diversified activities tailored to their preferences.

# The MJCF Congress

The French Communist Youth Movement will hold its congress on 8, 9, and 10 March 1984. Its goal is to make available to young people and students more clubs designed to fit increasingly well with the way young people are seeking to live. This assumes a greater capacity for offering trips, music, sports, meetings, and action, for giving young people a way to make themselves heard when they voice their determination to live better lives in a more human society and a more human world. All the aspirations of the young have a place in the life of communist youth and student clubs.

The independence of the MJFC as an organization enables young people to shoulder their full share of responsibility on their own. It is one of the keys to the growth of its influence and bears witness to the seriousness with which communists regard the young.

for its part, the French Communist Party attaches great importance to the development of communist youth and student club activities, and will work with its federations to make certain that effective support is available for expanding them.

Both delegations reaffirmed the unique nature of their relations. They are going to take steps to implement the working arrangements they have approved in all départements, and to do so in appropriate ways.

The MJCF congress next March will mark a major step in youth's commitment to the struggle for social progress, disarmament, peace, and socialism.

Done at Paris, 23 September 1983

Subtitles were inserted by HUMANITE's editorial staff.]

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POLITICAL

RALITE ON UNEMPLOYMENT, JOBS

Paris HUMANITE DIMANCHE in French 2 Sep 83 p 4

Interview with Jack Ralite, minister delegate for employment; date and place not specified/

[Text] Question The unemployment figures for July confirm the tendency which has been noticed for the past year: our country is recording a very slight decline in the level of unemployment. At the same time it has been announced that 100,000 jobs will be abolished in the coming months. Are we going toward a worsening in the unemployment picture?

Answer You are right in emphasizing that unemployment has not worsened in France in the past year. This is a unique achievement in the Western world, an achievement resulting from the relentless determination of the government's work in the social field, the creation of jobs in the public services, and the efforts of all those who wish to maintain and promote the development of a French industrial structure which is modern, diversified, and competitive and which regards human beings as one of its essential advantages.

Yes, France is the only Western country to have halted, as of today, the increase of unemployment, whereas in the past year joblessness increased by 25.3 percent in the Federal Republic of Germany, by 35 percent in Luxembourg, by 21.8 percent in the Netherlands, by 13.9 percent in Italy, and by 5.9 percent in Great Britain.

However, having said that, we're not looking at things with closed eyes. We are clear in our own minds. We are not ignoring the decline of 31 percent over the past year in the number of recorded job openings; the noticeable increase in partial unemployment (up 31 percent over the last 12 months); the high level of temporary layoffs due to economic conditions: 30,000 per month during the second quarter of 1983 and the recent announcements of further temporary layoffs, particularly by Peugeot-Talbot; the stagnation in the level of consumption; and the decline in investments by companies in general. In short, all of this has led the INSEE (National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies) to forecast that between now and the end of the year 1984 there will be 200,000 to 300,000 more people looking for work.

We must deal with all of that -- it's our duty.

the level of 2 million unemployed, but we must do more, also: carry out a policy aimed simultaneously at the social management of unemployment, which has proved its human effectiveness, and the economic management of employment, which must demonstrate its productive effectiveness.

Thus, without making a big thing out of the first results, which are appreciable; without hiding our concerns, which are real enough, particularly in certain regions and certain employment areas—we can see everything that separates us from those who, not having accepted the results of the elections of 10 May 1981, preferred to see a national industrial disaster and who have become the daily prophets of the inevitability of unemployment in order to make industry despair of the future.

Question What programs do you have under preparation?

Knswer First of all, I should say that the central question for employment is industrial policy. The debate over this policy, which was developed by Laurent Fabius maister of industry and research, should be the center piece from this point of view. In that connection the public sector has the major role to play. However, you can't repair our industrial fabric except over the long term, whereas unemployment is with you right away.

As is already well known, we are going to increase the number of young workers entering the various companies for on the job training. We now have 200,000 positions available—130,000 more than last year. This is the priority task for my ministry for this fall.

We are going to get the public employment service going, that is, by turning it into a meeting place, where we can listen carefully and receive proposals, first of all for the men and women affected by unemployment. Too often we have had from the ANPE [Public Employment Service] a "hesitant" approach to the management of unemployment. We need an open, overall approach to jobs, particularly for young people. When they are at an age when they are filled with enthusiasm to build, imagine, and live, unemployment is a brutal obstacle for young men and women. Whatever the cost, we have to reestablish, as it were, the blood circulation in this area. The new public employment service, with a substantial 1984 budget, will be able to respond more effectively to those who are haunted by the search for a job.

We are going to apply a policy of gradual retirement, with the ensuing job openings going to young people. In other words, we will encourage the transfer of accumulated skills between the generation that is retiring and the generation beginning to work.

And since I have mentioned retirement, we are presently studying how to let workers in certain rough jobs, who have held those positions for such a long time, retire at age 55.

However, of course, we have to do more in the field of job training, and not only at the beginning stage but also over the years. Why not give partial

unemployment a certain utility in the training field which could fill the gap, of which the president spoke in Reims, between the factory which, in the course of modernizing itself, has less need for workers, and the already modernized factory which needs more workers for itself and the surrounding area, although in some other field?

The government is also thinking of introducing a labor contract for a given length of time for small and medium-sized companies and for companies involved in foreign trale, which would be longer than those now in use, provided that the person filling a given job is an applicant for employment, duly registered with the ANPE.

I should also mention the proposals for reform in the financing of the special systems aimed at easing the manpower costs of companies; special treatment for sensitive areas; easing the regulations of the National Employment Fund; sabbatical leave; and, of course, reduction of the length of the work week, in the full knowledge that this will require a great deal of effort and therefore time in negotiations between management and labor. And we realize that salaried personnel do not want to see a reduction in their salaries.

Finally, employment is a major question both for national policy and in the sense that the nation is rich in its regional diversity. That means that I am in favor of the various regions assuming their responsibilities in connection with this question. In my view they are the ideal place for labor contracts affecting jobs, training, and production.

Question You mentioned the idea of contracts affecting jobs, training, and production. What does that mean exactly?

Answer This involves encouraging contracts freely entered into by various companies, one of them producing products which the other one needs and which it has purchased up to now in excessive quantities from abroad. The contract signed between these companies, involving new markets, a new level of productivity, a higher level of competitiveness, and new jobs, would lead directly to a subsidy which would create both new jobs and new, added value on the goods produced. I have proposed subsidizing each new job at the rate of 40,000 French francs. I recall that an unemployed person presently receives an average of 80,000 French francs per year.

I am satisfied that this idea, whose objective is to create new, material wealth jointly, with human beings as the center of the effort, has met with a real response.

First of all, at the government level, it has been recommended that this kind of contract should be given a trial and has assigned the Foreign Trade Service Delegation du Commerce Exterieur, under Edith Cresson, my colleague, with the job of leading the way, in collaboration with my ministry.

However, there has also been a positive response in the national, economic, regional, local, and trade press to this proposal. At the ministry I have already received many representatives of trade organizations for whom this

idea means that we do not despair of what French production can do, without turning our backs on indispensable international cooperation. Company directors have asked to meet with me, moreover, to call my attention to studies made in French management circles which, 3 years ago, called for solidarity between French companies, stating: "It is no longer enough to develop a good, large-scale distribution system. It is also necessary to see to the proper functioning of the small-scale distribution network, where most trade transactions take place." In short, this is an idea which could bring together all of the participants in the employment market. As far as I am concerned, I do not choose between them. Before 10 May 1981 the position which I now hold in the Pierre Mauroy government was too much at the mercy of financial returns only. In my view I intend to perform this job in the service of production, that is, economic, financial, social, human, and national profitability. Production takes place in companies managed by directors where salaried employees, workers, technicians, and staffs work. I am, and will continue to be, a minister concerned with these groups of human beings. I think that there are new kinds of behavior which are emerging from this point of view and which I would favor. However, I can't do that by myself; there are still obstacles in the way. Each citizen of this country and each person associated with the various companies has his share of the responsibility to assume.

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POLITICAL

RIGOUT ON VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Paris HUMANITE DIMANCHE in French 2 Sep 83 pp 4, 5

☐Interview with Marcel Rigout, minister of vocational training; date and place not specified

Text Question The Rigout training program is now 1 year old. Can you show us an initial balance sheet on this effort by the government to provide training to young workers who don't have a high school diploma?

Answer In effect, through the issuance of the Ordinance of 26 March 1982, the government set out an ambitious objective for itself: to provide job training and recognized qualifications to all young people from 16 to 18 years old who left school without a diploma or other qualification and who had no contract to work or no contract of apprenticeship. A year has gone by, and the preliminary results are now available.

More than 155,000 young people have appeared at the reception, information, and orientation centers and at the local offices. This flow of young people to these reception centers is quite unusual and shows their deep desire to learn a skill. Today there are a little more than 84,000 young people in these training programs, and for the most part we can say that their training is proceeding satisfactorily. I would add that nearly 28,000 young people who came to the reception centers found, through a good orientation program, an immediate solution to their employment problem outside the 16-18 year old program (apprenticeship, return to school, on the job training contract, and, in the best of cases, a regular job.) I would like to emphasize a very important fact. That is, young women constitute 48 percent of the young people in training programs, and such a level of participation is, in itself, a completely new development.

So much for the qualitative balance sheet. Nevertheless, however interesting it may be, it cannot take fully into account the wealth of experience developed during this year of work and the multiple and contradictory experiences that one or another of these young people has gone through. In my book, "L'Autre Chance" (A second Chance), I tried to explain this adventure in greater detail. However, for lack of time I cannot go that far here. Nevertheless, I must say that these new training programs, based on a new relationship between theoretical study and practical training in a company, have met

with a great response among all those charged with applying the program on the side. I am therefore persuaded that in terms of pedagogy and the relationship between training and the job, something has begun to develop which, in my view, will go far.

Of course, there are also problems and difficulties which are part of this balance sheet. However, we would like to deal with them frankly and with all those who are involved in this program. That is the reason why, as the 2nd year of this experiment is beginning, we are going to bring together, throughout France, elected representatives of the people and directors of reception centers, training organizations, and companies to find out, through their concrete testimony, how to overcome these problems and difficulties and improve our system even further. A total of 13 "A Trade to Succeed" meetings will take place in 13 French cities during the month of October, and one national meeting will be held in Paris on 14-15 November.

Question Will the effort be continued and expanded in the direction of young people from 18 to 25 years of age?

Answer Absolutely, and on the basis of the directions provided by the cabinet meeting of 1 March 1983 the government and its social partners will develop these measures further. They will involve nearly 800,000 young people from 16 to 25. Very briefly, I will give you the principal points involved in this program.

The first point is aimed at expanding the role of the schools and the universities by increasing their capacity for receiving young people and by avoiding premature dropping out of school at age 16 and making more use of the LEP's /Electronics and Applied Physics Laboratories and the technical high schools in the job training program.

This broad plan includes one important aspect more directly concerning the Ministry of Vocational Training, since we have to continue with the program for young people 16-18 years old, but also increasing by 10 percent the entries into apprenticeship programs and increasing the number of training programs for young people over 18 years of age.

Finally, this "16-25 year old" program provides for facilitating vocational training linked to a job by the development of on the job training contracts, which should total 200,000 in 1983, compared to 70,000 such contracts signed in 1982.

Those are the major features of this program for young people between 16 and 25, and you can see that there is substance in it.

Question Several times Francois Mitterrand has urged training geared to the new technologies. What are your plans in that regard?

Mnswer Training the 20 million highly qualified workers France will need by the year 2000 is the big question. This involves a major gamble on the future of our country. This is my first concern and, of course, it is also

the first concern of the president of the republic and of the government. Technological change is taking place rapidly. Each day new modifications are made in the production of goods: robotics has already entered the life of many companies, and this will happen at a growing rate. As we look at this development of the third scientific and technical revolution, major questions arise: involving growth, jobs, and, of course, vocational training.

Economic growth is a major question because it is urgently necessary that, through a dynamic policy of productive investments, our companies may be able to provide themselves with modern tools and thus maintain their place in the face of international competition.

Jobs are a major question because the adoption of new techniques in industry may give rise to real dilemmas if such developments take place without the participation of the workers and against their wills. In that case thousands of jobs would be lost. Without a reconversion program, this would also mean thousands more unemployed workers. We see this process taking place in the automobile industry. Today, many workers are deeply worried as they see industrial robots coming into the factories to replace them. What will happen if nothing is done for them? That is where vocational training comes into the picture. No technical change should be introduced in a company without consideration given to the consequences for the level of employment or without a training plan capable either to make the workers able to handle this new technique or to let them qualify for reconversion to another function. Without waiting until their backs are against the wall, we need to develop a vocational training program responding to the needs of the country and its economy, but also to the needs of human beings. We need to stimulate the establishment of new training patterns, as we have done in the electronics industry, for example.

We also need a new legislative foundation for this major policy, and that is why I have prepared a bill for the reform of vocational training which will be discussed in Parliament, beginning in October. This reform has been specifically prepared to adapt the French vocational training system to the realities of the modern world and in particular to this technological surge. The reform bill thus provides for broadening the right to individual training leave and is so arranged that even workers in small companies having fewer than 10 workers will henceforth have access to such training.

On the other hand the draft bill is aimed at democratizing vocational training in the various companies by requiring negotiations between trade unions and management on the means and objectives involved in the company's training policy.

Finally, this reform bill is aimed at improving the market for vocational training, so that the workers can have access to quality training at controlled costs.

In my view this reform bill is an important step toward the future. It is still essential to ensure that it does not remain merely a piece of legislation. Rather, the persons affected should take advantage of the new possibilities which the new bill offers them and make them a part of their lives.

This process is based on effectiveness. Thus, in the case of major technological evolution affecting a company and placing many jobs at risk, it is essential to take preventive action and to organize to deal with it. This kind of preventive action will be all the easier if a habit is developed of negotiating on vocational training in the company between labor and management.

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POLITICAL FRANCE

## SAVARY ON EDUCATION REFORMS

Paris HUMANITE DIMANCHE in French 2 Sep 83 p 5

[Interview with Alain Savary, minister of national education; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] On 8 September 12,279,500 students will go back to elementary or high school. That is, the number has increased, compared to last year. Should we expect a difficult time?

Answer The number of students has undoubtedly gone up, compared to last year, in kindergartens, in the secondary schools, in the general and technological high schools, and in the vocational high schools. In the kindergartens this simply reflects the demographic increase which began in 1977. In the secondary schools this increase is a consequence of the policy which I have carried out for the past 2 years, with the agreement of all of the political and trade union groups which support the government. In effect, it was essential to let all the young people who wished to provide themselves with a better chance of acquiring vocational qualifications to remain within the school system for this purpose.

The extent of the increase in numbers, which is beyond the forecasts made by the Ministry of National Education before I became minister, shows how much this policy was desired by many families. The system of selecting young people by failure and exclusion was never a just and equitable system and was never necessary to fill jobs at different levels of qualification.

Of course, this overall increase in numbers of students does not make the job of all the services which administer the educational system any easier, for it adds to the problems caused by the movement of people between geographic areas. Further difficulties appeared during the past school year, when classes were closed or teaching positions were abolished in order to make possible establishing new classes and positions absolutely necessary elsewhere. That is why I asked all local officials of the Ministry of National Education to handle the transfers of positions as openly as possible, by consulting very broadly all of the people involved and by explaining all the motives which lay behind these decisions. It is essential to the proper functioning of democracy for all citizens to be more responsible for the policy carried out by the government.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that this demographic increase, which certainly adds to that recorded in 1982, has taken place since the massive budgetary increases of 1981 and 1982. And if the 1983 budget has not brought the same increases, it is far from being negligible, if you compare the initial 1981 budget and the draft budget prepared before May 1981 for the school year beginning in 1982.

Nevertheless, I am not unaware that the average number of students for each school division should increase slightly in the case of secondary education. However, the increase will be a rather small one. I know that that is an additional burden for the teachers, who are also taking part in the economic and financial austerity effort demanded of them by the government. I must thank them for their efforts, and I hope that the country will appreciate their efforts, because they have a difficult job to do.

Question On various occasions you noted the importance which needed to be given to technical and vocational education. What steps have been taken to strengthen what was, under the previous government, the "poor relation" of the national education system?

[Answer] The government is giving to technical and vocational education all the importance which is justified by its policy of fighting against unemployment and against inequality.

Technical education is an effective instrument for training the young through the diversity of vocational programs which it involves, ranging from certificates of vocational aptitude to diplomas from university technological institutes.

The 1982 budgetary provisions helped to improve conditions for reception and training of the young. More than 35,000 more students were added to the high schools and technical schools [LEP] in the fall of 1982, through increased school attendance and more effective action taken against premature dropping out by young people in the course of their training.

In the 1983 budget technical education benefited from receiving half of the new job openings, or about 3,500 positions (teaching personnel, educational and administrative positions, workers, and service personnel). Extension of continuous control programs, the development of educational follow-up programs in companies, and teaching conditions are also undergoing profound change.

Beginning with the 1982 budget, technical education scholarships have been increased very significantly. Over the long term a program of basic reflection on the future directions to be followed has been undertaken. Three major areas may illustrate this program:

- (1) Decompartmentalizing and restructuring the kinds of training (retraining classes, for example).
- (2) Adaptation of the content of vocational training to the needs of the economy and the requirements of society, particularly at the regional level (reform of the professional consultative committees).

(3) Introduction of new technologies at the different vocational training levels (establishment of new BTS [expansion unknown], the machine tools plan).

Finally, the views of the Prost Committee on all of the training establishments and those of the working group specifically related to the LEP will soon provide material for further progress. Elsewhere, the ninth National Plan will include continuing the renovation of technical education in its priority programs.

Question From kindergarten to the universities, reforms have been undertaken to change the schools, to reduce the gap between education and life. Should major changes be expected, beginning with this year?

[Answer] I have often said that I did not seek to reform the schools. The history of education shows that there have been many illusions on this subject. Neither do I believe in a miracle solution, developed in the minds of a few experts, however well-considered it may be.

As far as that is concerned, the task is immense. The whole educational system needs to be changed, to be basically renovated. However, this change cannot take place unless it is handled by all those who are interested in the quality of the school, the students and their parents, the personnel of the schools, and locally elected officials. You don't change the educational system. It changes itself. It is all of those participating in the schools who will renovate them.

As far as I am concerned, I have tried to bring about conditions which are most helpful to this process of internal renovation. I have begun a program of reflection on all aspects of the system, in which I want all those who were interested to participate. And I think that what has happened in the elementary schools, in the junior high schools, and in the senior high schools over the past 2 years has been particularly positive. I have ensured that initiative, are encouraged when they are of good quality, when they contribute to opening the school to the environment surrounding it, when they let the students be happier in school. I think that something has changed during the past 2 ye rs. No one will disagree with the fact that there is a great deal left to do. The educational system must be further democratized, both in its internal functioning as well as in its system of selecting students. It must be further improved in terms of the content of instruction and in the educational training which it provides to young people. Those are ongoing tasks to which I would like to see increased attention and support given.

I hope to be able to bring the educational system further along on the path of this basic renovation, beginning in 1984. However, I also believe that the great changes are only seen after they have taken place. To be minister of national education, you have to have a great deal of modesty and a great deal of patience.

5170

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POLITICAL

BACKGROUND, VIEWS ON NEW FINANCE MINISTER POTTAKIS

## Biographic Data

Athens TO VIMA TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 11 Sep 83 p 14

/Excerpts/ On Friday noon, shortly after being sworn in as minister of finance, replacing Mr Dimitrios Koulourianos, Mr Giannis Pottakis met with economic editors.

Mr Pottakis said, "The PASOK government that has the reputation of having a "tough party line" has opened new horizons in bilateral relations. And this will become all the more apparent as time goes by. I must say, nevertheless, that Mr Panagiotis Papaligouras, ND minister of coordination, had opened a first path in this area. We recognize his contribution, his political activism and I personally have deep respect and esteem for him."

This was the first surprise. The fact that Mr Pottakis has become minister of this exceptionally sensitive ministry has categorically given the lie to the continue allegations by the Right that "Andreas has had it with Pottakis for the mess he made in trade relations with eastern countries and for his big differences with Arsenis."

Just the opposite occured and certainly the ministerial promotion and surprise of Mr Pottakis appears to have evident significance for these two versions.

The same day Mr Pottakis was sworn in, writers of the rightist opposition referred to a series of meanings over his assignment as minister of finance that makes Mr Pottakis a government official of the first order.

The most predominant of these was that Mr Pottakis as a faithful party cadre, with excellent relations with members of the executive office, will implement a policy of financial grants in accordance with party and pre-electoral expediency.

Marxism and Friends

Mr Pottakis himself indulging in humor believes that the position of minister of finance is one of the most dangerous because "you can also lose your best friends." To the volume of work inherited by the new minister from Mr Koulourianos is also the bill for economic rehabilitation of National Resistance fighters, with needed expenditures of 6 billion drachmas a year.

Inere is no doubt that Mr Pottakis, the "tough Marxist," will promote this bill and will make every effort to prevent the gradual economic rehabilitation of the resistance fighters from dragging out for years.

- "So, Mr Minister, a Marxist?"
- "Yes, in the meaning that Marxism is a valuable tool for analyzing and understanding objective reality. I am not, however, a Marxist with blinders, that is faithful to some existent model dogma or to some socialist course without democracy."

With many communist frinds (KKE, KKE (Int.), EDA and "unaligned" officials often visit his office), Mr Pottakis, who does not hide his steadfast devotion to "democratic socialism," smiles when he hears, "In the way you are going we will see socialism in Greece from Pottakis' son."

The new minister of finance, who was deputy minister and alternate minister of national economy over the past 2 years, has spoken to dozens of provincial party meetings with optimism. He has stated: "Everything will be all right if we do not lose our step and contact with the broad popular masses."

He summarizes as follows: "To put it formally, a socialist and leftist is the one who see the world through the eyes of the person suffering the most injustice. I will never want to forget that rule."

# Step by Step Upward

Mr Pottakis was born in 1938 in the town of Asprokambos in the mountainous area of Korinthia, located at a height of about 1,000 meters. He is the eldest son of five children in a poor family. His late father had completed his studies at the Phadeion and the school of law. The difficulties and persecutions of the 1940-1950 decade and the post civil-war period forced him to struggle for the day-to-day survival of his family.

The present minister of finance — and official in charge of the State Lottery Service— emotionally remembers his father and all he did to have his children receive an education. All five have become professionals (two economists, two lawyers and one doctor), who have specialized abroad, learned foreign languages by themselves. All the "Pottakis'" greatly worship their widowed mother.

They grew up in the Metaxourgio area at 7 Pythodorou Street, and after 1957 they moved to their small family home in Agioi Anargyroi.

It was in these neighborhoods that Mr Giannis Pottakis grew up playing ball and also reading every scrap of newspaper that he could find in the street.

Andreas Pottakis, besides wanting to have his soms receive an education, also incited them to get into politics and to join the neo-populist organization of the then centrist parties.

After getting his degree in law and serving in the military (he served as a defense attorney in the infantry), the present minister of finance settled in Korinthos and began the practice of law.

He married Miss Konstandina Alexopoulou, a writer. They have three children, Ifigeneia, who is finishing her lycee studies, and two sons, Andreas and Nikos both of whom are public school students. Mr Pottakis remembers how much his wife stood by him in those difficult years and how she incited him to continue his studies in Germany.

He has waid, "Dina left her own career for mine so we could build a proper family."

A member of the Center Union and considered as "pro-Andreas," Mr Pottakis was secretary of the Korinthos nome committee and official in charge of Center Union enlightenment for all of Peloponnisos before the dictatorship period.

Difficulties and surveillance began with the coming of the dictatorship since Mr Pottakis was defense attorney for anti-seditionists at the Special Military Court in Athens. He and his wife left for Munich for 2 years where he studied German at the University of Munich. His knowledge of German, as well as English, is very good.

It was then that he began amassing his big collection of foreign and Greek works on Marxism and on neo-Marxist sociologists and philosophers.

He has been separated from his brothers for years. They have sought a better life elsewhere. Dimitris completed his political science studies at the Pandeion and subsequently continued his studies in business administration in Australia.

Levteris who, as a soldier, went before a military court in 1965 for his "pro-Andreas" sentiments, studied political science and business administration and management in England and later in Australia.

The two brothers have obtained management positions with the Goodyear Company in Australia and are among the best paid officials.

The fourth brother, Panagiotis, practices law in Piraeus. The fifth brother, Giorgos, studied medicine in Hamburg and is presently a surgeon. With the downfall of the dictatorship the five brothers became founding members of PASOK. Levteris became secretary of the Melbourne local organization, while Giannis entered politics for the first time in November 1974. He came in second after Gerasimos Notaras. He was very active in PASOK and was elected deputy from Korinthos in the 1977 elections. From that time on begins the upward mobility career of Mr G. Pottakis in the Movement.

He participated in parliamentary auditing work, made well-prepared speeches and was generally very active in party life. He was successively member of the parliamentary groups on coordination, finance, national defense, commerce, merchant marine and industry and power.

After exhaustive reading and analysis of files, published reports and books he began to be recognized for his political understanding of problems. A friendly and affable person he maintained good relations with all his associates but with no one in particular.

The first surprise for the new deputy himself was Mr Andreas Papandreou's decision to appoint him PASOK's special spokesman in the 1979 budget discussions. It seems he did well because not only was he appointed special spokesman for the 1980 budget but general spokesman for the 5-year economic development program. Also a spokesman in a series of critical bills, Mr Pottakis worked as an official on the PASOK analysis and programming committee and worked "as a mere soldier" for the organizational needs of the party.

Together with all of these activities --that forced him to be away from home days at a time-- Mr Pottakis traveled as a member of parliamentary missions and wrote many articles on the problems created by the country's joining the EEC and on other economic matters generally-speaking.

He became a member of the committee to study the consequences of the country's joining the EEC and --especially-- member of the PASOK delegation to the meeting of the socialist group of the European parliament.

He speaks less than he acts and often prefers quiet collective work with persons whom he not only considers to be better trained than himself but he actually says so. This tactic of his to respect his associates secured him the cooperation of professors and specialists such as Messrs Babanasis and Dimopoulos when he was in the Ministry of National Economy.

The man who promises that in his position as minister of finance he will continue to view the world through the eyes of the most disadvantaged citizen does not even have a privately-owned home, and as a close associate confirms, "the minister knows firsthand what rent, cost of living and getting an apartment means." His children go to public schools and his personal life is a modest one without luxury.

On these summer week-ends he has spent certain hours close to his family in Kiato whenever he does not have party obligations to speak in towns and villages and whenever he does not closet himself in a room of his rented country house to read.

## Pottakis-Arsenis Alleged Antipathy

Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 10 Sep 83 p 2

/Editorial: "Behind-the-Scenes Actions and the Truth"7

/Text/ Behind-the-scenes rumors claim that Mr I. Pottakis, the new minister of finance, and Mr Vaitsos, the new alternate minister of national economy, are officials who have the respect and above all the favor of Kastri. Not only of the prime minister himself but of the entire Papandreou entourage. Moreover, it is being said that both --or at least Mr Pottakis to a greater extent-- have the absolute appoval of the top PASOK leadership who were instrumental in their recent promotions.

Regardless of the rumors and talk, the antipathy between Mr G. Arsenis, the present minister of national economy, and Messrs Pottakis and Vaitsos has been known for some time, actually even when the latter two men held lower positions

in the economic ministries. However, if Mr Arsenis had problems with them when he himself was the only boss, what is he to do now when he has them as co-responsible officials?

Of course, we do not have the slightest anxiety over the fate of the socialist who comes from the United States, but we cannot hide our genuine anxiety over the extended fate of the so unfortunate Greek economy. Because if we suffered what we suffered from the existing harmony of the Arsenis-Koulourianos twins, then it would not be difficult to anticipate what will befall us with the onset of the declared antipathies and various views of the triplets.

3671

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POLITICAL

## EXTREME RIGHTIST PLOT ALLEGED BEHIND OPEN LETTER TO AVEROF

Attack Against Karamanlis Seen

Athens EXORMISI TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 10 Sep 83 p 3

/Text/ A pro-royalist conspiracy to the detriment of our democratic state's institutions surfaced last week but it was offset when reports revealed its extent and goals.

The plot surfaced last Sunday in a front-page article of the conservative newspaper AKROPOLIS. The article sharply attacked ND's leader Evangelos Averof who was described as being incapable of measuring up to the "demands" of the bourgois world and was called upon to withdraw. However, the article's orientation was nothing more than a smoke screen. In essence, the unsigned text of the AKROPOLIS publisher constituted "a camouflaged direct attack" to the detriment of the president of the republic. This is so because the overall philosophy of the text was an attack --and sharply so-- on the mild political climate of the country which, as is well known, the president of the republic professes at each opportunity.

Beyond that, however, the New Democracy leader was sharply criticized because he allegedly receives and accepts orders "from above."

The publication of the AKROPOLIS article assumed explosive dimensions when the person being attacked, namely Mr E. Averof, answered by condemning both the article and its aims.

In the days to follow, however, the commotion stirred up by the article assumed vast proportions because of a series of revelations that were brought to light by journalistic investigations.

In accordance with these revelations, a group of big capitalists and ship owners in London who are trying to place political developments under their influence is behind the AKROPOLIS text.

This "group" acts in accordance with a plan, the first stage of which me at destabilizing the institutions of the republic, while the second stage aims at promoting Konstandinos Glucksburg as a "solution."

Revealing about the intentions of the "group" is the fact that the presence of Makis Arnaoutis, Glucksburg's aide de camp and close associate, was noted in Athens.

It is said that Arnaoutis played the role of coordinator in the implementation of the plan.

Part of the first phase of the plan was the buying out of AKROPOLIS. It is being rumored that the buying out was accomplished with large sums, while and administrator of the "group" has been assigned to this newspaper of the Right. As has been revealed, this concerns Pan. Stavridis, secretary general of the Ministry of Labor during the dictatorship.

The newspaper article on this matter has caused confusion in the Right. Mr Averof, after issuing a statement immediately after the publication of the article, did not make any other move, evidently waiting for developments to occur.

On the other hand, Mr Mitsotakis committed a political error through being unaware of what the AKROPOLIS article really hid, and disclosed that he himself had prompted it, a version that was transmitted to newspaper offices by men in his close entourage.

Later, however, when the behind-the-scenes version became known, Mr Mitsotakis "withdrew" his candidacy......

The remaining heir apparents to Mr Averof maintained a reserved stance from the very outset and avoided any direct or indirect involvement.

The AKROPOLIS article, beyond its evident purposes to the detriment of the republic, involuntarily caused developments in the honorable opposition to erupt.

Intra-party opponents of Mr Averof have drafted and have circulated a document to be signed, a kind of "pronunciamento," in which they call on him to give up his position to a more capable leadership.

As of now, it is not known who inspired the drafting of this text, but certain information relates that this stems from yet another move by the Mitsotakis group against Mr Averof.

Finally, the convening of the ND congress is still in abeyance. When it is held it is believed that the leadership issue will be taken up. Nevertheless, according to information from various sources deputies of various political tendencies have informed Mr Averof that they do not intend to accept any more delays on this issue. This means that Mr Averof will have to announce the dates for the convening of the congress shortly if he does not want to be faced with a mutiny..

#### Alleged Royalist Activities

Athens TA NEA in Greek 9 Sep 83 pp 1, 14

/Text/ The movement that surfaced over a week ago and whose target is the creation of general political unrest is now in full development. From data that has collected and from information coming from very reliable sources it appears that this movement is not limiting its ambitions to a change in ND's leadership.

It aspires to strike out against the political atmosphere and the president of the republic and to undermine the institutions of the existing regime.

It is characteristic that according to reliable information Makis Arnaoutis, a retired officer and once the aide de camp of the "former one" /King Constantine/, has been in Athens from the beginning of the week. According to the same information, Mr Arnaoutis arrived in Irakleion, Crete, with a group of tourists and subsequently came to Athens where he stayed at a friend's house in Kypseli.

If these facts are correct, it is not certain whether he is still in Athens or whether he left yesterday. Mr Arnaoutis has been assigned the mission of coordinating activities and movements that aim at setting up a "rightist front."

### With Much Insolence

Within the context of these events it seems that some kind of text (in the form of a "manifesto") is being drawn up and is being attributed to the "former one."

This text is intended for publication in certain rightist newspapers (in the next few days). The "former one's" manifesto also attacks Mr Karamanlis (according to one piece of information).

In the meantime rumors abound that a businessman who was a minister under the dictatorship has undertaken to finance a newspaper of the Right, while at the same time he appears willing to strenghten movements for the taking over of ND by extreme rightist elements or by parliamentary elements of the Right.

Given the fact that the financial resources of the businessman are great his movements are greatly facilitated regardless of whether the results will be positive.

#### Movements

Nevertheless, various movements by extreme rightist elements have been manifested in recent days and are trying to benefit from the confusion brought about by the raising of the ND leadership issue.

Characteristic of the fluid situation prevailing in this area is the fact that two "forgotten" elements --Mr Petros Garoufalias and Mr Spyros Markezinis--made their appearance the day before yesterday. The former, in clearly political and very explicit pro-West and strongly anti-government statements, undertook to make an appearance the day before yesterday. The latter preferred to make his comeback in a speech to a closed circle that was more economic and "ideological" in nature and not directly political. Without givng special significance to these two actions, it should be noted that the fact that both men chose this exact time as helping their reapparance is not fortuitous.

Of course, the fact that these movements are being developped in a very divided and hostile atmosphere should not be underestimated. So much so, indeed, that a wing of the extreme Right hastened to describe as "Karamanlis inspired" the attack unleashed last Sunday by a morning newspaper against not only Mr Averof but against the "mild atmosphere" whose primary adherent is the president of the republic himself.

To complete the scene of confusion it must be added that the reappearance of a morning newspaper is being readied. This newspaper had been considered during the dictatorship period as its "genuine" spokesman and had ceased publication upon the death of its publisher.

5671

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POLITICAL

# OPEN LETTER TO ND'S CHAIRMAN AVEROF RAISES POLITICAL STORM

## Text of Letter

Athens AKROPOLIS in Greek 4 Sep 83 p 1

/Text7 Mr. Chairman,

The continuous messages AKROPOLIS receives from the Greek people make it necessary to express its views on them. In this way—I am sure you will agree—the opportunity is given to you and to the cadres of the New Democracy Party to ponder the desires of our people. But above all it serves democracy which you love so much.

Mr. Chairman,

Following the municipal elections many political events took place which show the trends among the bourgeoisie which is represented by the New Democracy. But three of these events—the funeral of the late Tzortzis Athanasiadis, the public gathering in Kalamata and the pilgrimage to Grammos-Vitsi clearly compose the essence of the messages we receive daily from the people.

We ascertain two characteristic trends. One is the evident decline of PASOK's strength. The other is a strong doubt about the increase in ND strength.

It is not necessary to take time to discuss the causes for the PASOK decline. They are well known to all of us and to all of them. But it is not the same with the reasons which lead to the doubts we have about the increase in ND strength.

We believe the main reason for the stagnation in the ND increase is that the people, with their sound judgment on the one hand, see the danger in having a one-party state established to PASOK, and on the other they are not satisfied by the largely lukewarm reactions—the "mild climate"—of your party to this planned PASOK course toward an autocratic system.

The message tells us, Mr. Chairman, that in the face of this danger, the entire bourgeoisie anxiously wants to close ranks around a political structure which will offer the best possible guarantees that democracy will not die in our country.

The New Democracy Party, although it is the ideal political entity to embrace these hopes of our people, has not responded as much as it should. It has been unable to respond because in these days when we face the provocative methods used daily by the "partisan government" we have not been convincing; we have been unable to fill the hearts of the people with the hope they seek.

# Mr. Chairman.

This response to the will of the people cannot be translated into a one-sided mild climate. We are very familiar with the theory held by many highly placed personalities that PASOK will shrink and fall like a ripe fruit. We are not so optimistic. The messages are not so optimistic.

Such a development could happen in a country in which government and opposition act in the context of a democratic succession in office. The New Democracy acts in this spirit, but not PASOK. You are the first one to say so on every occasion.

But how is it possible, Mr. Chairman, on one side to believe and to declare that we face the danger of autocracy and on the other to continue to be guided as a party by ideological principles which have no relation to today's reality?

How is it possible—when the people and the ND cadres who have the courage to listen to the sound messages of the people, react spontaneously to the law-less activities of PASOK—to see the official party separating from its position apparently obeying orders of "unknown origin" transmitted on "invisible radio waves." In other words, it cuts itself off from the people, leaving them hanging!

# Mr. Chairman.

When we protest about the price of meat or tomatoes they accuse us of belonging to the cursed Right. When we protest more vigorously, they place us farther to the Right. When we go out into the streets to protest they call us juntists or fascists. And we--starting from the top down to the grass roots--to avoid the "dirty" label of the Right, turn our eyes and pretend we don't understand or even apologize.

This is the result of the efforts made by the "greens" and the "reds" who are brainwashing us by using all the modern methods. This is the result of re-writing and distorting our history, on the models of the "red-green", on the models of the communist regimes.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, they succeeded, with our tolerant attitude, in causing a terrible guilt complex. "You are Right, you are guilty!"

The thousands of people /who attended/ the funeral of Tzortzis /Athanasiadis/, /who gathered/ in Kalamata, and in Grammos-Vitsi are all guilty! Shame!

We are not guilty, they /PASOK7 are!

Mr. Chairman.

The time has come for you to become the leader of the bourgeoisie, not merely the leader of the New Democracy Party. Our international prestige is ridiculed. Our economy is collapsing. The citizens do not feel safe. The working people are losing their established rights. The country has reached an impasse.

Both you, as well as the party whose leader you are, must understand that if we wish to avoid chaos we must fight. We need unity in our camp. Remember that when ND was in power Papandreou brought out into the streets thousands of his followers every time he did not like any legislation you proposed. Remember the "irreconcilable struggle" and "the oath of office in Constitution Square." There was no mild climate for him in those days. As long as he was in the opposition he did not find the mild climate desirable. Today the mild climate is observed only by you. This was shown by /your reaction to 7 the famous Sunday exercise of popular readiness:

Therefore, let your cadres express themselves in line with the dictates and messages they receive from the people. You are the leader of the party. But if you feel you cannot respond to the dictates of the present reality, then you must find the courage to pass the torch. But we believe you will respond.

With great respect GIORGOS LEVIDIS

Averof's Position Seen Undermined

Athens TA NEA in Greek 5 Sep 83 pp 1, 20

/Text7 An unknown(?) hand has been setting up since yesterday the scenario for the overthrow of E. Averof from the leadership of ND in which the internecine fight continues 2 years after its electoral debacle. They all seem to expect a "deus ex machina" to find (some) solution.

However, while until yesterday the general impression was that matters would stay as they are at least for the next 2 or 3 months, a sudden attack "from the right" against Averof indicates that someone is speeding up the process. It is characteristic that yesterday's editorial /in AKROPOLIS/ attacks not only the present ND leader but also the ND founder--the president of the republic--because the attack is directed against the mild climate primarily--and this mild climate is so precious to Karamanlis.

The attack on the ND leader was initiated yesterday by the traditionally "more Rightist" Sunday newspaper--in a leading editoria which raises the issue of leadership in the ND party. At the same time, the same newspaper

not only appears as the avid advocate of decidedly more rightist party line but also speaks of "unknown persons" who dictate to ND a mild political line.

It is clear that those who manipulate the strings of this movement for Averof's overthrow are not within the ranks of those who comprise the "authentic legitimacy" of ND. Some believe that the inspiration for the move came from K. Mitsotakis who thinks he can assume now the ND leadership while others claim that the attack in the last analysis serves only his interests.

#### Reaction

This effort by Mitsotakis is in conflict with the refusal of powerful elements to give the green light for Averof's overthrow (evidently they want to organize things differently) while on the other hand they provoke the reaction of the other aspirants, second-rung aspirants, group leaders and others.

The question, of course, is what next? Averof avoided yesterday to take any position, but it is rumored that those who move for his overthrow now are escalating their actions while those who want Averof to leave, but not until later, may appear now as his supporters!

In any event, from all factions in the ND come an "eloquent silence" yesterday--in spite of the intensive efforts of the political reporters of NEA and possibly of other newspapers.

In fact, Averof and the two most prominent aspirants "happened to be" out of town!

Averof was resting(?) in Metsovo, Mitsotakis was in Khania, Kostis Stefanopoulos was in Patra; while other prominent ND cadres "shrugged it off" to avoid pouring oil on the fire.

## The...Letter

Specifically, there was no reaction from Averof (as one might have expected) to the "open letter" published by the owner of the rightist newspaper, although the letter was addressed to him and raised the question of his removal from the leadership of the party.

The ND leader went (as planned) to Metsovo (where he will stay for a few days), avoiding any followup to the aggressive editorial of the friendly newspaper. He also avoided commenting on the editorial when the editorial was mentioned in a discussion.

In any event, Averof did not seem to know the meaning of this open letter whose publication was pre-announced by AKROPOLIS 2 days before publication.

Certain ND cadres who were surprised by this attempt to raise the question of their party's leadership, tried yesterday to find an explanation for the publication of the editorial and to tie it to specific developments in their camp.

The ND cadres were surprised because they could not accept that the move against Averof could not be the result of an initiative by a newspaper but it must be connected to specific behind-the-scenes activities in their camp.

It is rumored that a "Mitsotakis move" inside the ND was expected (in the fall) but it was speeded up after the incidents in the Chamber of Deputies concerning the selection of the ND parliamentary spokesman during the debate over the National Health System. But they were surprised yesterday when the leadership of their party was questioned in this provocative fashion.

## Averof Responds

Athens MESIMVRINI in Greek 6 Sep 83 p 1

/Text7 E. Averof, the chairman of the New Democracy Party rejected, in a specific statement, any shift to extremism, repeating his middle-of-the-road, centrist and progressive policies, and underling that rightist or leftist extremism only serve the enemies of the people and the country.
"I reject," he said, "the challenge to accept in the New Democracy extremist elements who once smothered the freedom of the Greek people.

The statement, made in Metsovo where Averof is vacationing for a few days, was the subject of the day for the political world-who were discussing on Sunday and yesterday the fact that for 24 hours there had been no reply to the views expressed by Giorgos Levidis, the publisher of AKROPOLIS.

The Averof Statement

The full text of the statement in which Averof brushes aside the question of the ND leadership raised by the AKROPOLIS publisher is as follows:

"The open letter of a publisher of an Athenian newspaper gives me the opportunity to declare once again that the New Democracy is the party which serves without compromise the idea of the nation, democracy, free institutions and progress.

"It's policy line was drawn up by the generation who built Greece, and it is kept without deviation, with loyalty to its constitutional processes and with unanimous support of cadres and followers.

"Against the 'fatherland-mongering', the ideological extremism, the policy of tension, the various kinds of totalitarianism, <u>fit7</u> favors a mild, middle-of-the-road, centrist, and progressive policy.

"We call on all those who are loyal to Greece, freedom, democracy, progress and social justice to free themselves of personal passions which only help

the opponents, and to join the ranks of the New Democracy Party which fights for the salvation of Greece and democracy.

"Rightist or leftist extremisms serve the enemies of the people and the country. I reject the challenge to lead the ND to a new course to accept extremist elements who once smothered the freedom of the Greek people. I also reject the view which is being expressed that it is possible to find another ND cadre to attempt such a shift.

"As a democratic party, the ND gladly listens to any suggestion. But it also believes that suggestions must be accompanied by evidence of democratic struggles."

Reactions by other ND cadres on this issue have not been expressed as yet.

# Averof Not the Threat

Athens AKROPOLIS in Greek 6 Sep 83 p 1

/Editorial by Giorgos Levidis7

/Excerpt7 For those who may have forgotten it, we must state from the outset very clearly: AKROPOLIS has a long history it is not about to betray. It has a tradition which it has no intention of abandoning. AKROPOLIS will not desert /its tradition7 no matter what happens, no matter how much mud certain anonymous elements try to throw at it.

AKROPOLIS does not engage in personal attacks. Our editorial did not refer to Averof. It was not about Averof. It referred to the ND policy. We disagree with this policy, not with Averof. We would have written the same editorial--possibly in a harsher tone--no matter who else happened to be the leader of the ND under current conditions.

That's for now.

If necessary, we shall come back to this subject, because this is our duty.

Opposition Praises Averof

Athens ELEVTHEROTYPIA in Greek 6 Sep 83 p 4

/Text/ The internal affairs of the New Democracy Party are, of course, its own business. This newspaper has no intention of getting involved. But what we cannot ignore is the cries against the mild political climate, these calls to greater extremism, because this does not concern the ND alone but the entire political life of the country.

From this point of view it is worthwhile to see with understanding Averof's reply to the editorial--whose instigators are unknown--of the newspaper which

will be remembered in history for its despicable article in which it was asking "for the head of Makarios only a few days before the traitorous coup in Cyprus.

Even though many Averof speeches constitute an incendiary contribution to the undermining of the mild political climate and lead the party inevitably to a more rightist course, the open rejection of extremism and the expression of commitment to the basic democratic principles is an act which honors Averof.

Let everyone understand that a conservative bourgeois party does not mean a cloak to cover fascism or a hen to hatch the scattered eggs of juntism. It is high time to clear up the confusion. The people may respect a conservative bourgeois party, even when their majority does not agree with its program. But the people want the remnants of royal-juntism definitely and irrevocably thrown into the garbage can of public life.

# Needed Changes in ND

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 10 Sep 83 p 5

/Text7 We shall come back today to the issue raised by the suggestions (we made last Wednesday in this column) to the New Democracy Party to move away from the mild climate and shift to "more rightist" and semi-extremist directions. Since the issue of the attitude and of the structure of the political forces and of the entire domestic political situation was raised, we consider it to be not only useful but imperative to throw light on the reality in the hope that by understanding it, developments to healthier structures will be initialed.

It is an evident truth that the decline of PASOK is considerable; excessively disproportional in comparison to the time it has been in power, but also in comparison to the conditions under which it won the October 1981 election, that is, the extent of its majority and the capital of confidence or positive expectation that majority expressed.

This capital was spent very quickly, and the disappointment of the masses that voted for PASOK--for various and often conflicting reasons--was equal to the extent of the expectations it cultivated. Fast and extensive is the dispersion of PASOK's electoral base, and intensive is the displeasure of increasing segments of the population.

Yet--the truth must be said no matter how displeasing--there is no "political beneficiary" of these masses which, disappointed, leave PASOK. A portion of these masses turn with a specific political choice toward the ND. Those who advance the suggestions about a "hardening" and "rightist" shift of ND do ascertain such a phenomenon but they attribute it to the fact that in their opinion, the ND is not sufficiently rightist in its political views nor is it sufficiently harsh in its criticism of the governing party.

This argument is clearly irrational and unrealistic. How is it possible that those who come from centrist or leftist areas—and who retain their basic convictions in spite of their disappointment with the specific party for which they voted in the last election—will seek "hardline" extreme right views from another party in order to join its ranks? In reality the exact opposite is true.

Prior to the election, the ND was facing a challenge from the left, that is, there was clear evidence that a segment of the electorate had center-left orientations. It was also clear that the "center" masses were critical of the outcome of the election—at least with regard to the magnitude of the majority of the winning party; yet, the ND, in spite of the opposite (and sound) view of its leadership at that time, turned to more...rightist directions and slogans.

The ND limited its criticism on the views and methods of PASOK without sending out its own message and without proposing to the masses something new and constructive, except to review its own accomplishments during the previous 7-year period. The outcome is known.

This tactic continued during the post-election period and was intensified with a change in the leadership which brought to the head of the party persons said to belong to the right wing.

Its present leadership, however, has become aware of the new reality. Averof, rejecting the suggestion to lead ND to extreme directions and away from the democratic soft line--even though the "other side" is the only one which cultivates extreme situations and anti-democratic bigotry--clearly adopted "a mild, middle-of-the-road, centrist and progressive policy."

But the issue has been raised of cadre renewal, and of renovating and revitalizing the party of the major opposition. This middle-of-the-road, centrist and progressive policy must be transformed into political action and political expression with persons who believe in such positions and who carry pertinent "outside proof." The New Democracy Party must acquire new form by returning to its original charter orientations. Only thus will the political scene be cleansed and "blood clots" and "malformations", which forbode only adventures and hardships for the country can be avoided; only in this way will the large masses not be forced to vote again against their will and half-heartedly for PASOK simply because they cannot vote for a liberal party with truly progressive objectives away from the psychoses of the past...

Suggested Turn to Right Harmful

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 11-12 Sep 83 pp 1, 3

/Text7 The New Democracy Party must henceforth aim at 45 percent of the electorate in order to assume power again. This conclusion by top political

leaders in the country is based on the following established or possible factors: 1) Possibly the next election will take place under a new electoral system--closer to the simple proportional system--which will strengthen the small parties at the expense of the parliamentary strength of the larger ones. 2) Even if the reinforced proportional system is used in the elections, there is a possibility that KKE may receive more than 17 percent of the total votes and will thus participate in the second distribution for the parliamentary seats. In such a case it will be the same as if the simple proportional system was used. 3) The New Democracy Party does not have political allies. Thus, it can assume power only through a parliamentary majority. By contrast, its main adversary--PASOK--can count with assurance on post-election cooperation /with other parties and government coalitions. This gives it an extremely important advantage since the change in the election system and the weakening of the large parties hurts ND more than it does PASOK.

The same top political leaders argue that these conclusions, which cannot be easily disproved, should be the "compass" in charting and implementing the ND policy. And this observation assumes a timely importance in view of the revival of the known theories about the need for a "right turn" by the party of the major opposition.

Analyzing the above three factors, which influence directly the political developments, ND cadres raise the question if their party can in the future—in the very next elections, moreover—get more than 45 percent for the electoral vote7 which will bring it to power by majority.

Some people express the view that this target /45%7 is difficult if not impossible. They voice the fact that with Karamanlis as its leader the ND shrunk to 42 percent in the 1977 elections—a percentage which they consider as marginal for the range of the party's future expectations. These assessments are also based on the results of the 1981 elections which led many to the conclusion that our political spectrum has now developed in the ratio of 60 percent Left and 40 percent Right.

These arguments are opposed by comprehensive and persuasive counter-arguments. The ND shrinkage to 42 percent and subsequently to 36 percent, it is argued, was an unavoidable result after a 7-year ruling by the same party. More so, since the party in power faced the two worse international economic crises of the past 10 years which brought about more spectacular and deeper political changes in other West European countries.

Furthermore, the New Democracy Party was viewed as the successor situation to the pre-dictatorship governments, a fact which increased the demand for change and the trend to try putting in power another political party.

The large percentage of "undecided voters" shown by the various polls at this moment, is considered—by the same assessments—normal and in any event not disturbing. It is attributed mainly to the very fast rate of PASOK's

deterioation which exceeds the usual rate of sharge of voter attitude.
Usually such change covers the 4-year governmental term. The same leaders argue and point out the clearly slower rate of deterioration ND suffered.

The Deterioration to the Whole Left

with regard to the governmental deterioration, it is particularly pointed out that it should not be limited only to PASCK and especially it should not operate in favor of KKE or other leftist forces. Such a possibility would not favor NO's electoral targets, since KKE, by securing a considerable percentage of PASCK's deterioration, will aim at 17 percent for the electoral vote/ and will claim participation in the second distribution in which event even the 45 percent of the total cannot give to NO a clear rajority. In this context, it is argued that the ND must persuade the Greek voter that the responsibility for the failure of the experiment for "Change" belongs not only to PASCK but to the whole Left Wing.

Such an argument could not but be persuasive since the two KKE's exercise informal cooperation with the government on the main issues of the domestic and foreign policy (anti-Western actions, tax measures, freezing salaries, anti-strike Article 4, etc.).

As concerns the ostensible split of the electoral sody in the 60 percent for the Left and 40 percent for the Right ratio on the basis of the 1981 election results, this theory is characterized as arbitrary. It is pointed out that under the same logic it could be argued after the 1974 elections that the Center-Right represented about 75 percent of the total electoral body (ND: 54%; Center: 20%) and the Left represented 25 percent (KKE: 10%; PASOK: 13%).

This argumentation tends to prove that any effort to define the configuration of our electoral spectrum having the Pight and Left as poles is groundless and risky. On the contrary, the conclusion is that the largest percentage of the Greek voters constitutes a fluid political force which, under certain conditions, can create enexplicable—by the political logic—and unforseen rajorities. Also, a second important conclusion of these assessments is that in our country every one-party majority depends on the forces of the Center.

Baseless "Recommondations"

Top ND cadres point our that this fact alone should ward off any "recommendations" for "orester turns to the right" or for the adoption of "more tynamic methods" by the ND. They add that the policy could be chosen if the ND was compelled to hold and not to broaden its electoral base.

It is also pointed but that the supporters of such a policy do not explain their virws. It is not extreme Pight which threatened the Number 1977 when it took from it 7 percent. At that time the polypole for attracting the extreme Pight element was the

unavoidable policy the first post-dictatorship ND government followed by restoring democratic order and by cleansing public life from the organs or the appointees of the dictatorship.

Since then and as the 1981 election has proved there is no formalized political strength in the area of the extreme Right.

The "burden" of the 7-year period either joined the ND as plain voters orin cases where they had higher ambitions—they joined the "democratic forces" in order to serve PASOK in staff positions.

## Accommodation for PASOK

Therefore, any turn to the Right by the ND not only does not serve any of its political goals but on the contrary is absolutely in line with Papandreou's effort to maintain--albeit even artificially--the ideological and political confrontation of the "Right-Progressive Forces." In other words, instead of forcing PASOK to show by deeds centrist claims in order to control his moderate and disappointed voters, the ND is "asked" to accommodate it by renouncing any claim in the area of the Center...

Finally, it is argued that the recommendations to the party's leadership to "harden" its oppositional line will lead to similar results. The supporters of this view probably forget that the "policy of rift" constitutes the one and only factor for the unification of PASOK's electoral strength. This will be the tactic to be followed more and more by the rapandreou party as he will be forced to betray or to distort from his seat of authority his political declarations which until now differentiated PASOK--albeit theoretically--in our political area. It is added, however, that beyond the unification trends which will be strengthened in the area of PASOK by the recommended policy of "an eye for an eye," those who renounced such a policy should ask themselves where the overall political developments could lead in the event their views are accepted. Because the price the ND pays today for political banishments cannot be counter-balanced by its responsibility to maintain the political stability in the country.

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CSO: 3521/446

POLITICAL

#### BRIEFS

EX-PASOK MEMBERS' MOVEMENT -- The recently dismissed PASOK members have decided to establish a political movement. A pertinent statement released following a pan-Hellenic conference that was held in Athens over the weekend says the movement will proceed with its organization and at the same time it will establish contacts with "Every political force as well as with left-wing fighters who do not belong to any party" to establish a "new political organization that will genuinely represent the people's movement." The conference was attended by 150 cadres, who elected an 11-member Executive Committee. The members of the Executive Committee are the following: Y. Alifthiras, retired Air Force colonel; D. Vasiliadhis, teacher; D. Yiannakos, accountant; Kh. Iniotakis, civil engineer; N. Kargopoulos, chemist; N. Leondopoulos, civil engineer; K. Basias, electrical engineer; P. Miritzis, university student; Kh. Sarakis, lawyer; S. Stenos, lawyer; N. Isiaras, teacher at higher technical and vocational education centers. The headquarters of the movement are at 12 George Street, seventh floor, Kaningos Square, Athens. [Text] [NC102009 Athens ELEVTHEROTIPIA in Greek 10 Oct 83 p 161

CSO: 3521/16

POLITICAL NORWAY

LABOR PARTY ORGAN VIEWS PLANE DOWNING IN 'COLD WAR' CONTEXT

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 6 Sep 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text] There is no excuse for the downing of the South Korean passenger plane.

Regardless of what explanation the Soviet Union may present, the fact remains that 269 people were killed. A defenseless civilian passenger plane was shot down by rockets that were fired from a Soviet fighter plane.

For a long, long time this outrageous act will harm the prestige of the Soviet Union throughout the world.

Later it was claimed that the passenger plane was mistaken for an American military spy plane. This does not improve matters for the many victims of this "accidental shot." A "mistake" with such consequences is simply unacceptable.

The anger over what has happened is totally understandable. Nevertheless, we must try to keep a somewhat cool head. The passengers who were killed fell as victims of the cold war. It will not improve matters if the cold war becomes even colder.

The South Korean passenger plane entered one of the world's most sensitive military areas. It also is an area where American reconnaissance planes constantly fly. According to the news magazine TIME, American military spy planes have provoked the Russians into firing over 900 antiaircraft rockets at these planes over and around Soviet air space. Similarly, it is reported that Soviet planes have operated over American territory.

This quasi-war between the superpowers illustrates the tension in the world we all would like to continue living in. Fear and distrust now characterize the relationship between the two great power blocs in the world. We fear the powerful Soviet war machine, but we also know that people in the Soviet Union have the same fear of the West.

The downing of the Korean plane is a direct result of this mutual fear and distrust.

There has been some speculation that the downing could be a wilful act by top military leaders—that it was done to halt possible Soviet disarmament gestures by further increasing tension in the world. If this is the case, it is an open struggle for power directed against Yurii Andropov, who is seen by some generals as being too compliant.

If similar episodes are to be avoided in the future, then international tension must be reduced. After the downing many strong voices, especially in the "nited States, have demanded an end to all disarmament talks. This is the worst conceivable consequence of the downing.

It is in the interest of both sides that the weapons arsenals be reduced. Such reductions in nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons also are a precondition for reduced international tension.

Reduced tension is in the interest of both sides. A new round of even colder war and increased international tension will affect the West as much as the East. This would favor no one but the arms manufacturers. Disarmament must not be used as a reward for good behavior as long as bilateral, verifiable lisarmament is a probable prerequisite for the survival of our civilization.

The desire to punish the guilty after such a callous and despicable act as the downing of the passenger plane is understandable, but we must not create a situation in which we are punishing ourselves worst of all.

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CSO: 3639/175

POLITICAL

FOREIGN AID OFFICE REORGANIZES TO GAIN GREATER EFFICIENCY

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Thorleif Andreassen]

[Text] Norwegian foreign aid must be made more efficient. For this reason, the government approved yesterday the following organizational scheme for this work: All aid will be coordinated by the Foreign Aid Ministry. The work will be managed by the political leadership and an undersecretary at the ministry. NORAD's (Norwegian Directorate for Development Aid) various sections will be included in this ministry. The NORAD board will be converted into an advisory council. A special advisor will be appointed. He will have the same authority as a ministry undersecretary. The government will appoint NORAD director Borger A. Lenth to this position today. "It is a good system," Foreign Aid Minister Reidun Brusletten told AFTENPOSTEN.

"The government's goal is to get more aid out of each krone we spend. The drive for efficiency will be emphasized." This was stated by Minister Brusletten immediately after the cabinet meeting yesterday afternoon. She will determine how Norwegian foreign aid will be distributed. NORAD will be responsible for carrying out the decisions that are made.

"As I clearly indicated before, we must have one organ that is responsible for the practical aspects of Norwegian foreign aid. NORAD is a large, important, and useful organization for this purpose," Minister Brusletten said.

Thus NORAD, which until yesterday was part of the Foreign Ministry, will continue to be responsible for the bilateral aspect—development projects in the countries to which we give aid. Multilateral aid, which is channeled through United Nations organizations, will be handled by the Development Section of the Foreign Aid Ministry. This section previously was under the administration of the Foreign Ministry.

The appointment of a special advisor is a temporary arrangement. This position will be eliminated when undersecretaries are appointed. Borger A. Lenth will be appointed special advisor at a cabinet meeting today.

An article in VART LAND yesterday stated that the government's new foreign aid organization was a defeat for the NOPAD leadership, since NOPAD now will become a section of Reidun Brusletten's Foreign Aid Ministry. The newspaper said it would be interesting to see now whether or not Lenth would back out.

The new special advisor did not wish to comment on this speculation. He told AFTENPOSTEN, however, that it had been clear all along that NOPAD would be placed under the administration of the Foreign Aid Ministry. "Closer cooperation was needed between the political leadership and NOPAD. This is why the new ministry was established," said Lenth, who indicated that the new arrangement was based on sound principles for the continued development of Norwegian foreign aid.

"Does the new arrangement mean less influence for NORAD, Minister Brusletten?"

"I have seen speculation and assertions to that effect, but NORAD is still a directorate with responsibility for the practical implementation of our bilateral foreign aid. That is a fact."

"Will there be a change in the course of Norwegian foreign aid policy?"

"There will be no drastic changes, but our goal is to make foreign aid more effective. The purpose of the reorganization is to coordinate all Norwegian aid under the political leadership in the new ministry. This will be done so that all sections of the ministry can help mak foreign aid as effective as possible," the minister said.

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POLITICAL

AEROFLOT FLIGHTS TO SVALBARD TO ESCAPE BOYCOTT ACTION

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Torill Nordeng]

[Text] The announced boycott of Aeroflot flights to Svalbard has been called off. This was announced yesterday evening after a meeting of AFIS officials. Even if the protest had begun as planned on 20 September, it probably would have had little effect, since the Norwegian Association of Air Traffic Controllers had instructed its traffic controllers on Svalbard to carry out the necessary services for Aeroflot flights.

The announced boycott of Aeroflot in Longyearbyen was thoroughly discussed by Norwegian authorities on the mainland both on Wednesday and yesterday. Hans Olav Ostgaard, head of the polar section of the Justice Ministry, said that Norwegian authorities would issue no order calling off the boycott.

"Representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Transport and Communications Ministry, Civil Aviation Board, the Telecommunications Service, and the Justice Ministry met to evaluate a possible boycott of Soviet flights to Svalbard in light of the Svalbard Treaty. Together, we tried to estimate the results of such an action. We presented this information to the six AFIS employees and also explained the extent of the massive boycott the government has decided to implement," Ostgaard said.

Mathias Bjerrang, representative of the Norwegian telecommunications organization on Svalbard, told AFTENPOSTEN that the announced boycott at Svalbard airport had been called off. This was decided late yesterday evening. "We have decided to follow the recommendation of the Norwegian authorities and call off the boycott. This change in plans came about because we fully agree with the boycott plans presented by the government," Bjerrang said.

He also said that the canceled Aeroflot flight to Longyearbyen on Wednesday was due to a misunderstanding by Aeroflot. "The Aeroflot flight was canceled because they believed they would receive no assistance from the Bodo airport during the flight from Murmansk. Although Aeroflot normally has only two flights to Longyearbyen each month, there is no reason why they could not have another flight in the next few days," Bjerrang said.

BASQUE LEADER ON LOAPA, TERRORISM; OPPOSITION CRITICISM

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 1 Oct 83 p 13

[Article by Tonia Etxarri]

[Text] Vitoria—An expression of the need to resume the dialogue of the Basque autonomous government with the central government was contained in one of the principal requests which the president [lendakari] presented in the Basque Parliament in a colorless session held in Vitoria yesterday [30 September]. In a speech marked by the two new developments which have taken place this year—a judgment of the LOAPA [Organic Harmonization Law for the Autonomous Process] and the recent floods—the president of the Basque government mentioned his "eagerness to achieve peace" and did not hide his criticism of the central government for the slow progress made in the development of the Basque autonomy statute.

The parliamentary opposition, for its part, criticized Carlos Garaikoetxea by saying that the settlement which he is claiming from the central government also applies in the Basque autonomous community.

After a ritual reference to the present economic situation in the Basque provinces after the recent floods—"an unfortunate development may interrupt the tendency toward growth"—the premier began referring to the need to encourage public investment in the autonomous community.

The crisis and the strike held the chief positions in the speech of the president of the Basque government. He said that these circumstances were aggravated this year by the recent floods.

Nevertheless, in the sentence immediately after the reference to the floods-"We will continue speaking of the LOAPA, of the basic laws, of the progress of
fiscal transfers," he said—the premier presented a detailed and slow-paced
account of the efforts made by his cabinet in various areas, concluding with
a long listing of criticisms of the development of the autonomy statute.

He said: "There are reasons for profound concern, in spite of the juridical, political, and moral support which the recent judgment on the LOAPA signified for the views of the government." He turned to a detailed analysis of the

word, and then insisted that, despite the judgment of the court, "the posi-

lat at initial same

The LODA Basic Law on Economic Development, the law on university reform, the law on the Bases for Local Government, the reform of the public service, and the slow progress made in the handling of fiscal transfers were added to the liber of the criticisms by the Basque government of the development of the liber of statute, which the president of the Basque government presented.

As was the case last year, the section on violence received special treatment, although there was nothing new in it. Garaikoetxea pointed out: "We must that the use of violence," later referring to the progressive replacement of the older by plice belonging to the Basque community, which in 1984 will have 1, 22 officers.

with the exception of the CDS [Social Democratic Center], which applauded the premier's speech for its "forcefulness and energy" in the section on violence, the parliamentary opposition presented a wide variety of criticisms of the premier's speech.

The statement by the People's Alliance [Alianza Popular] that the premier's statement was ambiguous "because it did not mention the ETA [Basque terrorist realization] specifically and tended to confuse unscrupulous criminals with the premier to refer to use "15 percent of the premier to refer to use "15 percent of the premier who support the paths of violence, since that is the real problem."

For its part, Euskadiko Ezkerra, recalling the initiative undertaken in conmertion with the unsuccessful "round table for peace," suggested that this year, and as a step forward in the struggle against terrorism, it might have been possible to request a truce with the ETA publicly, when the floods devastated the masque autonomous community.

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# VEXT OF EVERNIO 12 SEPTEMBER ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

Istancal COMMURIYAT in Turkion 13 Jep 83 pp 1,7

Lext Ankara--Fredient Kenan Syren Daid in his radio and television address yesteriay on the obsersion of the 3d anniversary of the 12 Leptember operation: "A military regime as soft as ours has not been seen in any country in the world."

Italing that the democratic parliamentary system will be religious with the second on 6 November and that the 3-year old military and itration will thus come to an end, Evren said: "Today's Tirkey is an independent and free Turkey which is capable of deciding on its own what is necessary to be inter, which has faith in democracy and which does not need the mentiorship of others on this issue." Evren noted that "those who once were so that of slogans about a fully independent Turkey and those who branded such a gamers as traitors are today noping for help from foreign countries." The president said: "I hope that those who are hoping for help from acroad or who are conferned that foreign organizations will revoke our membership will one day realize their mistake."

Lectaring that he is not making this speech "to believate" the anniver any of 12 deptember, Evren charged: "I stated from the sery subject that we so not favor just an itea, that we so not think it is right to believate 12 deptember as a notificay and that we have left the issue of whether this is the right thing to do to history, which is the supreme arbiter."

After realing a summary of his radio and television speech on 12 September 198., Evren explained the achievements of the post-12 September period as follows:

"Within a week after 12 deptember, a government was set up and since us not, y laws were exacted to hait anarchy and terrorisms; anarchy was tackled councegously; economic legislation which could not be enasted for years was prepared and put into effect speedily; and within a year the Consultative Assembly was formed to take charge of legislative activities during the transition period.

"Internal peace and the supremary of the lawwife restored in the country, anarchy inclients were reduced to a minimum and as of 31 March 1983 7,200 defendants were convicted and centended on various charges.

"within a period of nearly 3 years, 585 laws were exacted and put into effect.

" .r ier and discipline was brought into the police organization and the trust and respect of the people for this institution was thus restored.

"He die measures taken to dissociate public servants from politics as much as possitie, great care was taken to exclude our armed forces from politics."

Litating that issues where complete success has not been achieved yet are inemployment, corruption, bureaucracy and traffic problems, Evren said that the problems will also be overcome soon.

Noting that great care has been taken so far to spare the citizens from "the carsh and rigid treatment that is part of military government", Evren continued:

tions to me held on 6 November 1983 and the military administration of the strain to me held on 6 November 1983 and the military administration of the strain will thus come to an end. Though the form of government we have the past 3 years is nominally a military administration, in our stations so far we have taken great care to spare our citizens from the serd rigid treatment that is part of military government. I can state without hesitation that a military regime as soft as ours has not been seen in antry in the world.

". ::, try people who come to Turkey from abroad do not even feel \*hat a military government is in power in the country.

'. It is way we have been receiving letters and oral requests from many of our likes asking us to postpone the return to democracy for some more time.

The while, those who are upset by the fact that they can no longer stage the leads and there are tricks of the past, those who have found doors to serve that in the interests shut, Mafia groups and gangs which could comfortably conduct anygling operations in the past and which can no longer do that today, well-known circles which can no longer conduct their ideological activities and their mentors are concocting unimaginable tricks behind their act of evangelism to lemocracy with the hope that the old system will be restored with the return to democracy. I tried to explain these tricks to you, my dear citizens, on many mentions in the past. However, let me state here that because we know very well the moves they have to make for their conspiracies to succeed, we are taking every possible measure necessary to foil their plots and to prevent the linkish nation from facing the same horrible conditions.

"All sensible citizens who want peace, tranquillity and stability have important ark to do on this issue.

"In- / may try to influence you with innocent manners and they may tell you-they are terring you-skillfully and shamelessly that they too made great efforts

A every possible measure to that end, that, however, their subordinates did the sound those measures, that the martial law commanders and the security that hot perform properly at that time and that, were it not for the 12 september operation, they would have wiped out anarchy and terrorism by the state means and restribed the economic situation in a short period of these.

Tating that the great majority of citizens who are not intoctrinated and who ere not blinday attached to an individual or group will not believe such that notice and that he finds merit in giving the following cautionary that to make distance:

"A a tre "ollowing to those who approach you in the baid manner:

"Why did you not dismiss the officials who did not do their jobs? If telaws were inadequate why did you not try to pass new legislation?

"were you waiting for more of the citizens' blood to be shed and for every either inch of our homeland to be covered with citizens' blood as in time of war.

"It you were going to stop communism and fascism why did you not do anything intil that day? When the entire nation could see that the threat of both the inlam and fascism was rising every day, how could you not see it?

"I've them if they were going to wait for another six months after leaving the marry without a president for bix months.

"for six months the legislative organs did not function and did not enact a more raw. Were you going to wait for another six months doing nothing?

". \* down you accept balanies you use not reserve for coing nothing? How could to expense your salation with a diean communities.

" A then way inflation was growing like an avalanche if they were going to their the second of the s

" I ye does I soot an last briding was a you into as a star who we want

"\* < 'nem ail these questions, my dear citizens, and demans reasonable answers. fou will see that you will not be able to get a single resonable answer."

this is an end of the subsection of the subsecti

" It is intermited peraturn was an express, newsproyed by the considered of the outlines to the gradual of entactioning a healthy and sound democraty that our . .... and and marke and insuring the unity and integrity of our nation; form more ine, a move to leviate from legography or to control it. That is why the a statement up ration was strongly supported and trusted by our noband if a the very outset. This situation has continued with all its fervor in a main the near and without interruption for the past 3 years. Unfortunately, n waver, in the who haver a uld come to terms with this situation are not ashamed " and " " " to tage public pinion against Turkey using the foreign press. me and it the there are orging to influence certain circles by employing to in our riero in foreign rountples. Those diroles, in turn, at times turn to be a first truth, this log to adjust the developments in our country From the propertive of train own lieologies and trying to pressure our country termine pertain international enganizations. Foreign institutions which other wint to interfere to invery of internal addalog out of mapite extending pack to a it liablen period must interstant the following very well:

in the sountry that was described as 'the sick man' during the sign of the stamph and free which has resisted if the shall of shame that were proken by Atalirk, which has not any integrity above anything else, which is capable of the stamph of the shall have anything else.

The capter has the prenty of brook in the course of history for its freedom the standard and has pelleved that the defende of these values is equivalent to produce the standard would not heditate to shed brood the standard for this purpose.

"It is a set in my that incre who once were so fond of stogans about a fully instructed. Takey have busy taken refuge in foreign countries and are hoping for the form these contries. It is also say that those who were infuriated with a sugar-entrant who premised them as traiters are also hoping for help to a form output totay. That is as far as their patriotism and table that is as

in a programment, have been observing all these with grief and are noping to an appropriate feet annamed of what they are doing and they will encome the right path. Sich persons existed luring and after the war of liberation. As a stature lit the torch of liberation in Anatolia, certain individuals in tarm. Aw that as an act of madness and alleged that Turkey could only be seen up an American or British manuate. But some of these individuals were ster and— some the right path and joined forces with Atature. I nope that to me was are nopled for help from foreign countries and those who are concerned that metals foreign organizations will revoke Turkey's membership will one day realise their mistake, and I believe that the Turkish nation is not impressed with the linear and that it is not pleased with the Interference of foreign forms in its internal affairs."

MILITARY EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

FINNISH SECURITY AFFAIRS EXPERT VIEWS ARCTIC STRATEGY ROLE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 25 Sep 83 p 21

[Article by Rene Nyberg: "In the Shadow of a Nuclear Threat"]

[Text] Candidate in Political Science Rene Nyberg is the embassy secretary of the Finnish Embassy in Brussels. He was a visiting fellow in the peace studies program of Cornell University (Ithaca, New York), in 1982-83.

Possible military cooperation with the Soviet Union in a crisis situation would inevitably include Pinland in nuclear strategy speculations, writes Rene Nyberg. On the other hand, he confirms that the possibility of using nuclear weapons in the Norlic area has decreased.

Nyberg's book "Nordic Security and Finland" examines the current situation and the future prospects of the security policies of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark from each country's point of view.

The excerpt belows treats the conclusions concerning Finland. The book, published by Kirjayhtyma, will appear in the near future.

Sweden's decision to abandon the development of its own nuclear threat and the evaporation of the possibility of Norway and Denmark accepting nuclear weapons have, compared with the previous situation, emphasized the signifiance of a conventional defense in the Nordic area. Regardless of whether we are able to make a formal assurance of a nuclear-free Nordic area sometime in the future, the absence of a readiness to accept nuclear weapons on the part of Norway and Denmark has reduced the probability of the use of nuclear weapons in the area.

The fundamental balance of nuclear weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union has limited the possibility of these superpowers to use armed force "sensibly" in Europe.

The use of any armed force is inseparably connected with the risk of escalation, a danger that a conflict will expand and lead to a direct encounter between the superpovers. This has increased the freedom of movement in small countries and their opportunities to control development in a crisis situation also. For, as the Frenchman, Raymond Aron, states in paraphrasing the famous

German strategist Karl von Clausewitz "the moment of truth is a crisis rather than a war".

in a nuclear age the prevention of war is the most important goal of all parties. Clausewitz compared war to a confidential business transaction, which concludes in a payment of cash. According to Aron, this situation, however, will come up in a crisis situation already in the nuclear era.

Aaron's insight is, in fact, a rather apt description of Finland's security problem -- an attempt to predict and control crises as well as to prevent a conflict of security interests between Finland and the Soviet Union. This, for its part, presupposes an ability to govern and if necessary defend Finland's territory.

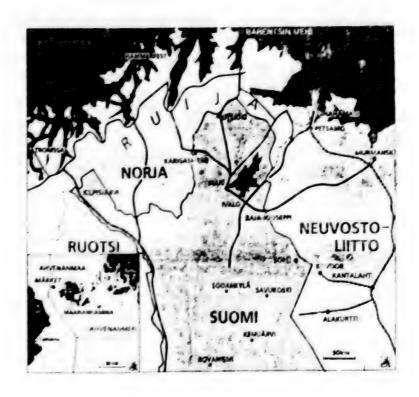
Considering Finland's defense, which suffers from a lack of meterials, as a defense for a crisis more than for a war may seem like an attempt to make a virtue of the inevitable. However, in thinking about a crisis situation the fact also remains that the only measure of a credible defense is the ability to fight or to cause a delay and bring defeat to a possible enemy.

The strategic significance of Finland's territory has decreased in the period following the winter and continuation wars. Since the conclusion of the war the military importance of the Soviet Union's northwest sector has been transferred from the upper end of the Gulf of Finland to the coast of Murmansk as well as to the southern Baltic Sea. This is best demonstrated by the return of Porkkala in 1956 before expiration of the lease as well as the transfer of the primary Soviet naval base in the Baltic Sea at the same time from Kronstadt to Kaliningrad.

However, this development has not reduced the importance of Finland's territory to its western neighbor. Even though the Aland Archipelago has lost the major portion of its military value, the group of islands continues to be important to Sweden. The submarine incidents on the coast of Sweden have more than ever before emphasized how important it is for Finland to be able to guard and defend the demilitarized Aland Archipelago.

# Market's Lighthouse Islet

Finland's territorial waters join Sweden's territorial waters in the area of the lighthouse islet of Market. The legal passage of military ships or aircraft of third-party countries to the Gulf of Bothnia requires advance notification and that submarines travel on the surface since it becomes necessary to travel through Swedish territorial waters. Travel through Finland's inner territorial waters requires advance permission, but since the channel to the Gulf of Bothnia runs through Sweden's territorial waters, even such permission cannot be granted in the narrow channel of Market because of the demilitarization of the Aland Archipelago. Finland's officials have also not consented to the passage of military ships in Saaristomeri [the sea surrounding the archipelago].



Even though Finnish Lapland's road network is good, land connections ever the Koli Mountains are few and they can be easily defended.

# 1071

Anversonmaa = Aland Archepelago Rulja = Norwegian Lapland Neuvostoliitto = Soviet Union Norja = Norway Rubtsi = Sweden Sami = Finland

bweden's neutrality and its ability to defend its own Baltic Sea coast correspondingly supports Finland's possibilities to provide a credible surveillance and defense of its territorial waters in the northern Baltic Sea.

This presupposes an effective naval defense or a naval fleet as well as a mustal defense suitable for island conditions. There is reason to emphasize the effectiveness of mines, in particular, in Baltic Sea conditions. (A mording to Fleet Admiral Sergey Gorshkov, commander of the Soviet naval forces, places caused 49 percent of the defeats of the Soviet Navy on the Baltic Sea in the years 1941—45. The corresponding rigures in the Arctic Sea and the Baltic Sea were 22 and 24 percent.)

The programment of excitation mines from the CSSR and possibly from Great British. W.L. Fightfacantly increase Finiand's coastal detense capability. The question of the defense of Southern Finland must also be examined against

the har kground that even though the Soviet Union's military emphasis has been indiffered from the Gulf of Finland to the north and to the south, Leningrad's defense has not been neglected. In a statement made by President Mauna Kolvisto on a visit to the Soviet Union last summer it was also confirmed that the TYA [Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid] Pact plays an important following guaranteeing the security of the Soviet Union's northwest border.

in spite of the increase in the significance of Northern Finland, Finnish implied the not offer a shortcut to Norway any more than to the Kuola [Kol'-wiy Peninsuli to "red or blue arrows". In a certain sense Norway's defense tiques to be secure "behind Sweden's back" since Norway's primary defense pointings are located in Southern Tromssa.

Even though the poor roads in Ruija [Norwegian Lapland] could be avoided by using Finland's road network, it would not offer a circuitous route for a partitle aggressor to the rear of Norway's defense. Also a surprise attack therein wedish territory would not produce any kind of military advantage the roads of the paucity of roads. Because of the slowness of surface operations, the military suppression of Northern Norway would require significant arrivers and marine landing forces.

# Liplind and a Surprise Attack

For military and geographical reasons the significane of Finnish Lapland is secondary from the point of view of a surprise attack. NATO is not capable attacking by land and even though the Soviet Union may have the necessary reconstant, the success of a surprise attack would, nevertheless, be questionable.

the other hand, the attractiveness and applicability of Finnish air space the first in its defense and radar surveillance. Swedish air space is thus from the point of view of Finland and the Soviet Union also an important buffer uninst possible air attacks directed against Leningrad or the Soviet republication.

Sweden, in particular, has avoided the construction of transverse roads. Even though the road conditions in Finnish Lapland are good, the road connections from Sweden over the Koli Mountains are few and they are easily defended.

Aim the road network in Soviet Karelia and the Kuola Peninsula is sparce. The first paved road from Leningrad to Murmansk via Petroskoi was not completed until the end of the 1970's. In the Arctic area there are few transverse roads extending to the Finnish border and their condition is poor.

There are three highways: the old Arctic Sea road from Virtaniemi along the Park River valley to Liinahamari and Murmansk (not in use), and the Raja-joseppi road through Yla-Tulomaa to Murmansk as well as the road leading to Kantalahti near Kelloselka (not in use).

A dead-end track leads from from the Muurman railroad track along the northern life of Kantalahti to the mining community of Kovdor, which is located in

The 21 Inity of the Florish border near Savukoski and Sokli. The approximately 50-kil meter segment of the Salia track constructed between Kelin-plant and Alakurtti has been practically speaking dismantled on the east side of the border in accordance with the provisions of the 1940 Moscow Peace Treation.

the strategic lightican end the Arctic cap has been reflected in the action of the all the area, now tries. A restrained road construction policy in example of this. More significant in their effects are Norway's volumetr, restrictions, americang Ruija (the prohibition on allied military exercises east of the 20th longitude) as well as the defensibility of Soviet armount, and troops, located on the Kuola Peninsula. The Norwegian government her not a noider that these troops are capable of offensive actions without reinforcements.

in the railroad line leads to the Kuola Peninsula from the south, the Muurmer track (officially a med the Kirov track), which is not completely electritive of inble-tracked as well as only one highway. However, there are 16-leads to the leads to the area, which can be used for the transporting of relator ements. The nature of military exercises has changed in recent years that it is the emphasis on marine-type landing exercises has been reduced.

the reintorcement of Norway's defense to be an aggressive action. Countries not belonging to any military alliances do not have this problem and Finland as Sweden have continuously developed their defense in the continuously.

"we'ver, the strategi significance of Finnish territory has decreased as a whole. This has essentially improved Finnand's prerequisites for remaining matrice of a possible crisis. Moreover, as the Third Parliamentary Detense Committee confirms:

"A situation that becomes gradually aggravated, which can last a long time without exploding into an open war, is more probable in our part of the world that a war that break, but suddenly... In a situation in which military redired, has been increased in the immediate vicinity of Finland our chances it remaining mitside of perhaps an even prolonged crisis depend, on the one that the trust in our security policy line and, on the other hand, on the learnest to while we are able to demonstrate our ability to guard and detend our territory... We should be able to raise the level of our military realizes, within the framework of the overall situation in Northern Europe in the contract relationship and in manner which will not strain the situation or thus be it conflict with our political aspirations aimed at discharging a rist aution."

Sperp wer Tropo and Secondary Theater of Operations

There are also offer mean than the assistance mentioned in Article 1 of the YVA Pattir strengthening Finland's defense. Therefore, it is natural that

Finland world calling in Soviet troops as long as possible in a crisis situation. In addition to our own measures, there is reason to emphasize the significance of weapons procurements, in particular.

Also it cannot be in the interests of the Soviet Union to aggravate the situation in the Nordic area in a crisis situation so that troops needed elsewhere would have to be deployed in a secondary theater of operations or in Finland. However, the prerequisite is that the Soviet Union trusts in the policy being carried out by Finland as well as in its ability to guard and defend its own territory.

Military history supports the secondary theater hypothesis, which is similar to the Swedish marginal-strategy concept — or that there will only be a limited military interest in Sweden. When the Soviet Union interrupted its attack in Karelia in June 1944 and moved its troops south to join in the race to Berlin, this was the result of the limited military significance of the front — in addition to Finland's stubborn resistance. For, as J. K. Paasi-kivi stated: "Russia has no other real interest in Finland than military".

It is also essential to state that just as the possible deployment of American troops in Norway would be inseparably connected with the assumption of the lar weapons -- regardless of whether or not American troops would have the lear weapons in their possession -- the possible deployment of Soviet military equipment (radar, and so on), not to mention troops, in Finland would also result in a corresponding assumption of nuclear weapons in the West. And this without any significance given to the quality of the armaments in the possession of Soviet troops.

A criting to the so-called negative guarantee given in the UN by the nuclear at ites -- or the promise not to use nuclear weapons or their threat -- it is also evident that, for example, in a crisis situation the possible implementation of military cooperation with the Soviet Union would unavoidably involve nuclear strategic speculations. Thus a situation which Finland has attempted to avoid by its actions to guarantee a nuclear-free Nordic area. The United States, in particular, as declared that it will not use nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear country except in a situation in which such the non-nuclear power) as an ally of a nuclear power or in cooperation with a nuclear power in the excecution or support of an act of aggression attacks the United States, its territory, armed forces, or its allies.

In spite of the fact that the strategic and economic significance of the Norlic cap and particuarly the seas surrounding it has increased, there are no endogenous reasons for a crisis in the Nordic area. The area's unresolved problems are being managed quite satisfactorily.

Militarily significant geographic development has, however, reduced the chances of the Nordic area to remain outside of any crises concerning Europe.

On the other hand, technical development has made the deployment of nuclear weapons in Norway and Denmark unnecessary and the political atmosphere non-conducive and impossible. This, for its part, has reduced the risk of escalation and has strengthened the stable situation prevailing in the area is well as raised the use threshold of nuclear weapons in the Nordic area.

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MILITARY EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

#### BRIEFS

NORWAY, SWEDEN ARMS COOPERATION -- The Swedish firm of Ericsson's Radio Watems, Inc. wants expanded cooperation with Norwegian industry. This invalves the purchase of Norwegian equipment worth at least 70 million Norwegian kroner in the next 5-year period. On Monday the Norwegian Export Counell coordinated an arrangement under which representatives of around 20 Norwegian firms along with the Defense Ministry and the Industrial Affairs Ministry held talks with a delegation from the Swedish firm. The background for the move is the big contracts the Army Supply Command has signed with Fricason's Radio Systems on the purchase of the Giraffe radar system. In return the Swedish firm agreed to buy Norwegian goods and services worth 35 million kroner over the next 5 years. To date, Norwegian products worth 25 million kroner have been purchased. It is the remaining amount that is now being discussed. One goal for the project is to create a long-term cooperation based on commercial principles, said director Lars Afzelius of Erl. Sson's Radio Systems. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 20 Sep 83 p 36] 6578

(.50: 3639/3

MILITARY

AIR FURCE OFFICER DISCUSSES AIR SPACE VIOLATIONS

Helsinki UUSI SUUMI in Finnish 10 Sep 83 p 3

[Article: "No Means of Force Needed in Finnish Air Space"]

[Text] During peacetime it has never been necessary to use force to guide a foreign aircraft out of Finnish air space back to its original course.

"The principle that a civilian aircraft would never be fired on under any incumstances is inherent in our air surveillance policy," emphsizes Major Lars Fredriksson, information chief of the Air Force Staff.

An average of 10 violations of Finland's air space occurs annually, which are, however, primarily committed by civilian aircraft and are thus unintentional. In several instances of air space violations it has been a question of a mapping- or forest fire surveillance flight in the vicinity of the border.

tider present conditions Finland is capable of satis ctorily carrying out the surveillance of its air space. Our radar network is sufficiently extensive and when a third flight detachment is incorporated into our surveillance system, aircraft capacity will also be sufficient when one takes into consideration the total resources of the Air Force.

"Our low-altitude surveillance radar is capable of observing foreign aircraft suspected of approaching the nation's border at a rather early stage. With our long-range radar we are able to observe air traffic generally in all of Scandinavia at high altitudes," states Fredriksson.

Annually 200-400 Alarm Flights

"Approximately 10 violations of our air space occur annually. The most reent incident was a month ago when a Soviet aircraft strayed from its course along our eastern border because of technical difficulties."

"We keep a small number of aircraft in a state of constant readiness so that excercise flights and actual alarm flights are not distanguished at the time of departure.

"There are 200-.00 flights of an alarm rature or a vear. The pilot ware but told in advance whether it is an exercise or an actual situation. Thus we annot say exactly how many actual alarm flights are flown," states Fredrik-

Fredriksson does not consider that border violations or alarms requiring identification measures occur more frequently in any particular area. The Air Force is kept equally busy by air traffic on the eastern as well as the western border. In addition, frequent aerial reconnaissance activities over the Baltic Sea cause alarms.

There have been no violations of Finnish air space in peacetime that could be considered aggressive by nature. Therefore, it has never become necessary to resort to the use of force.

"In practice, surveillance takes place in accordance with frequently reiterated principles. Our radar surveillance first locates the foreign aircraft. Then we send up a destroyer, either a Drake from the Lapland Flight Detachment or Migs from the Karelia Flight Detachment, to identify the aircraft," explains Fredriksson.

Identification takes place on the basis of the marks and emblems of the foreign aircraft, and in some instances the aircraft is also photographed.

"Most of the surveillance flights are the result of the fact that an aircra: to mother country is approaching our border in an exceptional manner and is not recognized as part of a normal flight pattern," adds Lars Fredriksson.

: Mig aircraft are encountered in Helsinki or Drakes in Turku, it is not a question of any kind of an exceptional incident, but a normal training thight.

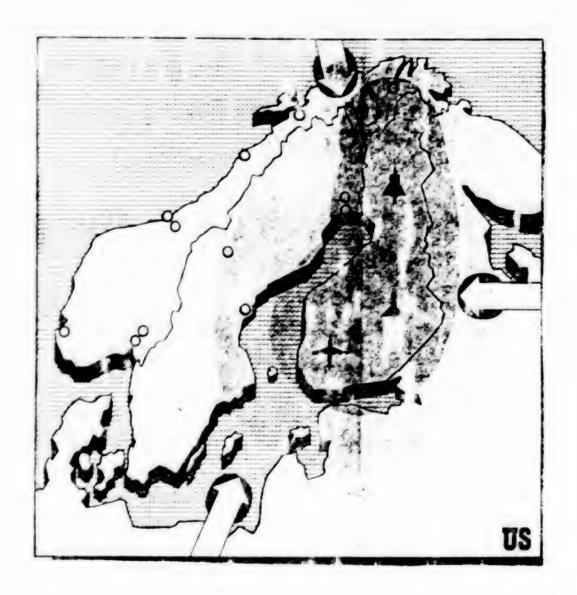
"Our air defense is based on the fact that all our country's airports are table in a crisis situation and aircraft can be transferred quickly to any of our country's airports for surveillance and preventive tasks. The Air Force conduct guard duties at all airports," emphasizes Lars Fredriksson.

"During peacetime our unconditional principle is that we will not use for a seainst civilian aircraft. Even otherwise we do not operate with our 'ringer on the tragger'."

Busy Over Baltic Sea

The Lapland Flight Detachment of the Finnish Air Force is responsible for the strategically important Arctic area. Norway's northern bases do not generate any extraordinary amount of traffic in our air space any more than do the Soviet bases near the eastern border.

"Air activity here in the north is completely normal. Annually, we are forced to accomplish 20--35 inspection flights, which are generally in answer to



we have map cove indicate those primary directions from which is an expection flights by the life force. The most important Swedish and Norwegian air tell with in less the direction flights by the life is tell with its less the direction and Norwegian air tell with its less the direction flighted and the life is the darker colored area to with visibility of our low-life de surveillance radar in the lighter of response the area covered by long-range researches high altitudes.

. Late ... ivilim air raft. There are only a few violations of the borlr . . . ..." . ate. Commanding Colonel Vaino Rajamaki of the Lapland Flight

The action of the latest in high-technology aircraft equiption in their the -- throughple, Norway has the F-15 destroyer aircraft -ton on prese quairon is, indeed, capable of controlling flight activities to the area of the Errier without any problems," adds Colonel Rajamaki. Lapland Air Activities Normal

The heavy air traffic in the area of the Baltic Sea does not cause any additional concern for Finnish observers of air traffic. A portion of the Air Force's identification flights ar conducted in this direction, but no precise measures have been made public.

Civilian officials state that a significant number of military aircraft has been noted.

"Indeed, all kinds of aircraft move about in the international air space of the Baltic Sea," states Chief Arjovuo of the Tampere Air Traffic Control Sector.

"Military aircraft may from time to time fly in the corridors used by passenger aircraft or even across them, and no dangerous situations have been created. Sometimes foreign reconnaissance aircraft may fly close to civilian aircraft, but they do, however, remain at a respectable distance," states Arjovuo.

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CSU: 3617/3

MILITARY

MILITARY JOURNAL'S POLL FINDS INCREASED DEFENSE WILL

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 8 Sep 83 p 6

[Article by Pal Nordenborg]

[Text] An opinion poll taken by Folk og Forsvar (People and Defense) shows record support for the military in this country. A military defense system is favored by 87 percent of the people. Support among young people has increased from 70 to 79 percent. The 30 to 59 year age group revealed the greatest support, with 83 percent of the women and 91 percent of the men favoring a military defense.

Labor Party voters equaled the national average of 87 percent. The most remarkable figures presented in the publication NORGES FORSVAR, which published the figures, are those showing support within SV (Socialist Left Party) and the Red Election Alliance. In a period of 1 year, support for a military defense among SV voters has increased from 63 to 69 percent. Support among the Marxist-Leninists now stands at 79 percent. These are high figures, even though they lag far behind the 95 percent figure of Conservative Party voters.

Norway On Top

The defense association's publication also includes the Valen-Listhaug report which describes conditions in several other countries. With regard to defense will, Norway is on top. According to the report, Norwegians have the greatest defense will of all and 82 percent say they are willing to fight in case of war. Sweden is next with 78 percent, followed by the United States with 71 percent.

Low figures were found in countries that suffered defeat in World War II: studies show that in West Germany, Italy, and Japan only 35, 28, and 22 percent of the people, respectively, are willing to go to war, according to the international study conducted by Valen and Listhaug.

No To Nuclear Weapons

These studies clearly reveal that there is something wrong with the propaganda directed at the Labor Party and at nuclear arms opponents as a group. This propaganda is being spread by several parties. Never before have so many

supported military defense. Nor have so many opposed nuclear weapons and the madness of the arms race.

Certainly the leading Conservative politicians, supported by their middle-party coalition partners, do not wish to contend that Norwegians, who are willing to go to war for their country and want a military defense, are in the hands of the Soviet Union! These studies show that the rising opposition to nuclear arms and the growing peace movement have not weakened what we call defense will.

The studies also show that many defense-minded politicians and so-called friends of the military are out of touch with most of the people who will do the fighting. How many heads of state and government leaders must envy the Norwegian prime minister for having a people he can count on to the utmost! Casting doubt on this reliability is sheer nonsense. Doubting our defense will can only lower our defense capabilities.

9336

CSO: 3639/173

MILITARY

INTRUSIONS INTO WATERS REVEAL WEAKNESS OF NORWAY'S SUB FLEET

Oslo KLASSEKAMPEN in Norwegian 18 Aug 83 p 12

[Article by Tor Rognmo]

[Text] Foreign submarines on strictly unofficial visits to Norway have focused attention on our antisubmarine preparedness. Several cases have revealed that our chances of detecting a foreign submarine hiding in Norwegian waters are extremely low. There also are clear indications that the Norwegian submarine fleet is operating with serious handicaps, even here at home.

NTB (Norsk Telegrambyra) was permitted to travel with one of our 14 submarines, the Skolpen, on a cruise from Kristiansand to Bergen. The 37-hour cruise included simulated attacks during which unsuspecting civilian ships were destroyed, in the submarine's computer in any case, and maneuvers in which the purpose was to find suitable hiding places far below shipping channels.

Worn Out

There were many possibilities for the latter maneuver, but it was highly dependent on how well the on-board equipment functioned. Using advanced sounding equipment, it is possible to enter areas where the submarine cannot be detected by sonar equipment on surface vessels. The best way to continue the chase in the labyrinth of underwater currents and temperature differences is to use another submarine. In a man-on-man, or rather sub-on-sub, battle Norwegian submarines could come up empty--today in any case.

The Kobben-class submarines purchased from West Germany almost 20 years ago are beginning to show signs of wear and age. NTB has learned that on various occasions technical difficulties have occurred that have not only jeopardized the mission being conducted by the submarine, but have even threatened the safety of the crew. As a result, the decision to order six new submarines from West Germany is comforting to many of those serving in the Norwegian submarine fleet today. But according to the submarine crews, this is far from being a sufficient response to the constantly growing challenge the navy faces under the ocean surface along the Norwegian Coast.

# Highing Boats

weeks at a time, work, sleep, and eat in a room that resembles the cockpit of an airplane. The galley or kitchen, which is of the same type as that used on many passenger planes, helps reinforce this impression. The total cost of this vessel including its equipment was about 50 million kroner back when it was purchased. The equipment is vulnerable, however, and if a part costing inversal kroner fails at the wrong time, the ship can rapidly be converted from a strong war ship to a helpless and clumsy wreck on the surface.

At night, as the Skolpen's batteries propelled the sleek hull just over the seabed, the fishing fleet from Mandal was working the waters off Lindesnes. No one noticed the periscope that surfaced among the boats and began to draw air through a shaft down to the diesel engines. Observations and course calculations were constantly made to avoid collisions. After running a slalom course for a while, the sub drew in its periscope and the Skolpen dropped to a safe depth. Maneuvers such as this are everyday occurrences along the Norwegian coast and there are clear indications that Norwegian submarines are not the only ones that participate in this cat-and-mouse game.

## Technical Difficultie.

The crews that participate in underwater maneuvers are screened, taking into account the physical and psychological stress they must face. There are many causes of danger and irritation on hoard, but only three sources of pleasure—a narrow berth, food from the "airplane kitchen," and a video machine. Technical difficulties in the old TV set on board this submarine worth millions of kroner meant that the video system was unavailable on this trip.

The most important cargo on the Skolpec, however, is the eight torpedoes, each of which weighs many tons and is several meters long. In a war situation with foreign vessels approaching the Norwegian coast, the submarines and their ability to strike suddenly and silently will be of decisive significance. Then, even more than today, the 14 Norwegian submarines would share the nooks and corners as biding places on the seahed off the Norwegian coast.

The question asked by many naval officers today is whether our submarines will be literally left behind or be able to hold their own in the electronic underwater war. This remains an open question today.

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MILITARY

DOMESTIC FIRM TO MAKE FIRE CONTROL SYSTEMS FOR NEW SUBMARINE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Ann Ollestad]

[Text] If development work goes as planned, A/S Kongsberg Vapenfabrikk will supply weapons control systems for future submarines in Norway and West Germany.

"This will guarantee our present number of jobs until far into the nineties," division chief Jens Charles Width of Kongsberg Vapenfabrikk told AFTENPOSTEN.

A/G Kongsberg Vapenfabrikk will develop this weapons control system as a result of an agreement between West Germany and Norway for joint development of certain material systems and equipment for the Norwegian submarines that will be built in Emden and future submarines of a new class in West Germany.

According to the agreement, which was signed by the defense ministers of the two countries, West Germany will develop torpodoes, sonar equipment, and periscopes, while Norway will develop a weapons control system for both submarines.

"It is extremely important for us to develop our specialty items on the basis of high-level agreements," Width said. "We are not working on overall development, but are concentrating on a few products based on extremely advanced computer technology. We estimate that the development work for this project will be concluded in 1987."

The maximum cost for this work is set at 385 million kroner in 1980 currency. These expenses will be evenly divided between the two countries. The cost for the development of torpedoes, sonar equipment, and periscopes by the will be covered by West Germany alone.

The development work is based on extensive tactical and technical systems requirements and both countries are obligated to demonstrate successful solutions with regard to these demands.

9336

CSO: 3639/173

MILITARY

LEFTIST ELECTION CANDIDATE: AIR RAID SHELTERS IN BAD SHAPE

Oslo KLASSEKAMPEN in Norwegian 25 Aug 83 pp 8-9

[Article by Alf Skjeseth]

[Text] "Does the government think people should die from a lack of air raid shelters or gas masks because such measures are inflationary and Jeaken our competitiveness?"

This was asked by RV (Red Election Alliance) leader Jahn-Arne Clsen at a press conference yesterday at which RV bitterly criticized the government and the other political parties for sabotaging civil defense preparedness.

The original plan was to invite the press into an air raid shelter at Youngstorget, which is designed to accommodate 4,000 people. But the Oslo Civil defense did not take the risk: the shelter is in such bad shape that the journalists could be adversely affected by spending 1 hour in it.

RV's demands to the civil defens system include the following:

Realistic exercises in civil preparedness in all major cities and towns in which people would enter air raid shelters after being warned by a siren. The civil defense would be mobilized fully, the dissemination of information would be tested, and exercises would be held at hospitals.

Free gas masks to the entire population, including children under 3 years of age.

Coordination of war evacuation plans and other preparedness plans with military exercises.

"To paraphrase a popular saying, RV demands: Air raid shelters for the people," Olsen said.

He pointed to the gap between military and civilian planning.

"The military defense in Norway is based on the idea that nuclear weapons could be used against Norway during a war. The consequences of this fact have not

been incorporated into the risk analysis and the practical development of the civil defense system. There is a great shortage of air raid shelters and only a fraction of the shelters meet the requirements for protection against nuclear fullout. It is estimated that only three of the 24 public air raid shelters in Oslo are sufficiently equipped." he said.

#### The Price

When asked what the RV's extensive demands would cost, Olsen cited Mona Rokke's entimate that it would cost several billion kroner to improve the civil defense system satisfactorily. Oslo candidate Leif Finstad said:

"I would like to turn the question around and ask what it would cost if we did not make the civil defense improvements RV is calling for. The fact that little RV must assume the job of creating public opinion on this issue alone says a lot about the other parties. For this is literally a matter of life and death. Good or bad civil defense may mean the difference between life and death for tens of thousands of people if war breaks out. Cutbacks in this sector could lead to mass death down the road. We in RV are fighting against this type of cynicism. The peace movement should be more interested in this situation."

#### Measures

Mal Gythfeldt of RV's Oslo City Council group gave a textbook example of the other parties' apathy toward civil preparedness.

"In May 1982 Ellen Pedersen convinced a unanimous City Council to discuss a comprehensive plan for preparedness in Oslo during 1982. Now, three fourths of the way through 1983, nothing has happened. A report from the civil defense office is collecting dust in the city treasurer's office. Last Wednesday RV demanded that the City Council act on this issue."

RV's campaign promise on civil preparedness is as follows: "Wherever we are elected, we will present resolutions calling for a thorough examination of the civil defense system. In connection with such examinations, we will mobilize support for drastic improvements in civil preparedness."

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CSO: 3639/173

MILITARY

BERGEN AIR RAID SHELTERS ALSO FOUND IN DISREPAIR

Oslo KLASSEKAMPEN in Norwegian 25 Aug 83 pp 8-9

[Article by Helge Skaar]

[Text] Bergen--Stinking cesspools and dilapidated bunkers. This is an objective description of two air raid shelters in Bergen, which KLASSEKAMPEN inspected, along with Inspector Helge Johnsen of the Bergen Civil Defense.

Three of 17 public air raid shelters comply with the standard requirements of the Justice Ministry. Harald Aasen Hovik of the Bergen Civil Defense District called the situation unsatisfactory.

RV's top candidate in Bergen, Torstein Dahle, called for drastic measures against the civil defense skandal.

The Justice Ministry has charged the Municipality of Bergen with the task of constructing type-A air raid shelters. These are air raid shelters designed for protection against conventional and nuclear weapons, with purification facilities for dealing with chemical weapons. Of 17 public air raid shelters, three meet these requirements. They have a maximum capicity of 3,000. The rest of the air raid shelters can hold a total of 15,000 persons. But these shelters lack facilities. They consist primarily of tunnels. They have no toilets, no facilities for isolating the sick and injured, and no protection against gas weapons. Some of the shelters are in such disrepair that they are totally unusable. The shelter at the Hansa Brewery, for example, is used today as a transport tunnel in connection with an expansion of the business. It cannot be used as an air raid shelter.

#### Unsatisfactory

We asked Harald Aasen Hovik of the Bergen Civil Defense District if these figures were not frightening.

"From a civil defense standpoint, the situation is not satisfactory. The regulations require that room be provided in public shelters for 20 percent of the population in densely populated areas. This requirement has not been met in Bergen."

"We are near strategic areas such as Flesland and Hakonsvern. What would happen to the civilian population if these targets were attacked by modern weapons, such as tactical nuclear weapons?"

"It is difficult to predict. This depends on many factors, but a surprise arrank at night would have extremely serious consequences. We hope that a major part of the civilian population could be evacuated from the city in the event of an attack."

## Residential Areas

EM ond in command at the Bergen Civil Defense District, Nils Eri, told KLASSE-KAMPEN that some residential areas have practically no shelters at all, public or private. This is true, for example, of Flagtveit in Asane. The houses in the Flagtveit area were constructed at a time when home owners no longer were required to build shelters. The people in these areas would have no protection if something happened.

With Inspector Helge Johnsen of the Bergen Civil Defense as a guide, KLASSEKAMPEN inspected several of the city's shelters. The first one we saw was the Rothaugen shelter, which is one of the best in the city. It has room for 1,500 civilians in case of war. It has toilets and gas-purification facilities. Now it is rented to a furniture company and is full of furniture and boxes. According to the regulations, it must be possible to prepare a shelter for use within 24 hours. It appeared to us that the furniture company would have a difficult time doing this, but Johnsen said this type of peacetime use was reasonable.

#### A Stinking Cesspool

The next place we visited was the St. Marcus shelter, which is supposed to accommodate 1,050 Bergen civilians if war breaks out. Like most of the shelters, however, it is a leaky cesspool. The comforts consist of a simple row of light hulbs in the ceiling. The shelter stinks of rotten fish (the "Flor Bay smell," for those familiar with Bergen). The stench is the result of raw materials stored by a factory in the shelter. Johnsen said the shelter could provide some protection for a brief period, but he had strong doubts concerning the condition of the shelter.

#### Bunker Full Of Holes

We did not enter the third shelter, Jansonmarken on Lakse Bay, but an examination from the outside clearly indicated that the 500 people seeking shelter here would face an uncertain fate. The entire bunker has a dilapidated appearance and Johnsen admitted that it was unsuitable.

Miserable conditions, unusable as shelters—this was our conclusion after visiting St. Marcus and Jansonmarken. Rothaugen demonstrated what a shelter could and should look like, although questions arose concerning the peacetime use of this shelter (and others). The civil defense takes its task seriously, but is receiving lower and lower allocations. We must concentrate on the

political authorities--state and local--that do not bother to comply with their own requirements.

Were Aware

"We were already aware that the air raid shelters in Bergen were in bad shape," said Torstein Dahle, who tops the RV list of candidates in Bergen. "This wa, one of the first issues we brought up after we placed a representative on the City Council. The proposal we made at that time was sent to the executive committe, but 'did not result in discussions of substance,' as they say when an issue is shelved. The proposal has not been discussed during the past 3.5 years. We pointed this out last July during a question and answer session. The answer indicated that Bergen will not receive a satisfactory quantity or quality of air raid shelters in the foreseeable future unless something is 'one. We take the threat of war seriously and experience from other countries shows that modern warfare takes a heavy toll on the civilian population. For this reason, we must improve our system of shelters and other civilian preparedness. The other parties say they agree, but there is little indication that they are willing to do anything about it."

"We will not give up on this issue. If our requests fail to yield results, we must look for harsher methods," Torstein Dahle said.

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CSO: 3639/173

AEROSPACE SCIENCES

FRANCE

# BRIEFS

ARIANE FUEL FROM USSR--An automated factory for making propellant for the Ariane launcher was opened in Toulouse. This factory, which belongs to the SNPE [National Powder and Explosives Company] will produce from 750 to 1,000 tons of propellant every year. It should allow 8 Ariane launches each year beginning in 1986. However, the propellant from Toulouse will not be used before next year. Until then, keeping the Ariane reservoirs full will depend on unsymmetrical dimethylhydrazine imported from the Soviet Union. [Text] [Paris ELECTRONIQUE ACTUALITES in French 9 Sep 83 p 12]

CSO: 3619/4

## PROPOSED NUCLEAR WASTE DUMPING IN AZORES REGION PROTESTED

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese o Sep 83 p 6

/Text/ The Portuguese foreign ministry does not want the sea around the Azores "dirtied." It let Belgium and Switzerland know that it did not approve of their alledged intention of dumping nuclear waste near the Azorean maritime zone.

Belgian and Swiss embassy counselors were called to Necessidades Palace /foreign ministry/ this week and officers of the foreign ministry's General Directorate for Economic Affairs expressed their concern over reports suggesting firms from these two countries were going to dump nuclear waste materials in the Atlantic trench near Azorean waters between 9 and 12 September.

As a matter of fact, the waters surrounding the Azores have currently been in the limelight. A short time ago, the archipelago's regional government was delighted that British stevedores boycotted the dumping of 3,700 tons of nuclear waste in a trench located about 600 miles north of the autonomous region. It is now facing a new problem.

The foreign ministry took a position on the alledged intention of those two countries' representatives to "dirty" even more Azorean waters. If nothing comes out of this, it will be clear that, at least, the Azoreans' struggle has the central government's support. The Mota Amaral government maintains that those countries which have nuclear waste should dump it in their own ground, as the Law of the Sea Convention declared. After 10 years of discussions, the convention's main decision is that "any and all submersion operations" must be definitively prohibited.

It is not easy for the Azores to enforce its position within the framework of the convention, despite the fact that 120 countries signed its final resolution and only four (Fiji, Mexico, Zambia and Jamaica) ratified it. The industrial powers raise serious objections to the location of nuclear waste sites. They particularly raise objections to the convention's guidelines for exploiting the substantial metallic mineral reserves found at great depths.

"Radioactive Trash and Ecological Harm"

The risk of possibly causing ecological harm due to radioactive waste is going to be studied by the "Metor," a West German ship used to study the oceans.

The "Metor" has been in Lisbon for 12 days and tomorrow it will weigh anchor for the Atlantic trench located between the Azores and the Bay of Biscay. The ship's mission is to carry out studies that will increase existing knowledge of this "Atlantic trench."

The FRG minister responsible for research and technology, the German Hydrographic Institute of Hamburg and the Institute for Sea Sciences of Kiel support the "Metor" mission. The "Metor" is a research and survey vessel built 19 years ago. It weights 3,000 tons and it is 82.1 meters long, 6 meters in draught and 13.5 meters wide.

Three institutes from France, Switzerland and Holland cooperate in its research. These countries have traditionally dumped nuclear waste in the Atlantic trench. The latter two countries, as is public knowledge, have been dumping in an area to the north of Galicia.

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MAJOR AIR POLLUTION CLEAN-UP PLAN FOR MADRID

Madrid EL ALCAZAR in Spanish 11 Sep 83 p 23

[Article by Maria Luz Nachon]

[Text] Ninety-three million pesetas is the allocation approved by the Council of Ministers to begin the Air Clean-Up Plan for Madrid, which "is the result" of an agreement signed last April between the city government and the Ministry of Public Works and City Planning.

The plan will develop in the course of 3 years and the total investment amounts to 7.75 billion pesetas. Its primary objective is to determine and prevent air pollution at the source.

This year, we are informed, the investment will be 186 million pesetas, in other words 93 million from the ministry and an equal amount from the municipal government, but nothing is disclosed as to what future subsidies will be, which if they are equal to this first year, will surpass 270 million in state funds leaving "up in the air" neither more nor less than 7.21 billion pesetas which for the most part, "the pockets of the citizens of Madrid will have to produce" as it used to be said. The establishment of lines of credit have now been announced for owners of 10,000 heating furnaces in need of repair.

It is surprising to see "the great discovery" made "according to studies carried out in the first phase of the plan" which establishes that 80 percent of the air pollution is produced by sulfur dioxide from furnaces of which 70 percent are in need of repair and 95 percent should be adjusted.

The surprise is justified because this data has been known for 17 years. In other words since 1967 when, Mr Arias Navarro being mayor, a commission of experts was created to work out a report concerning pollution in the capital and the proposal for measures to combat it. The proposed play by the commission was approved by the "Joint Session" 28 June 1968 making way for the creation of Anti-Air Pollution Service ascribed to the Delegation of Health and Clean-Up.

First Ordinance in Spain

On 30 June 1968 the Ministry of Government approved an ordinance concerning the implementation of the service, the first of its kind to be approved in Spain and a principal instrument in the serious struggle against pollution.

Portable and fixed pollution measuring stations are rapidly being installed through-out all Madrid, with vital samples being periodically taken so that in later years the correct "model" for the determination of clearly-set ways and patterns of work can be assessed.

The measurements taken clearly reveal a high concentration of smog and sulfur dioxide emitted for the most part from heat sources—heating and hot water, and smoke from industry which also raises the carbon monoxide level in the most congested traffic areas. Another source of air pollution is from diesel engines.

## Important Measures

Without delving into detail, it can be said that even then some very important steps were taken, such as the maximum purification of fuels with CAMPSA putting into service a new fuel back in 1970 with a sulfur level of less than 2 percent which supplied Madrid, Barcelona, and Bilboa, the cities most affected, prohibiting the use of fuels with the highest sulfur levels over the abovementioned level, all of which necessitated repair of the majority of Madrid's furnaces even then.

Check stations were installed in order to inspect heavy and light vehicles—which I assume must still exist—and back in the days of Garcia—Lomas in 1975, a polluted atmospheric zone was declared which encompasses a wide perimeter of Madrid, setting at the same time alarm and emergency determining levels as well as measures which as a last resort should be taken, such as delaying turning on heaters, temporary shut down of industries or stopping wheeled traffic.

#### Second Ordinance

In April 1979 a second ordinance was published expanding the previous one, and from 1961, when the Regulation of Noxious, Unhealthy, New and Dangerous Activities was approved through 1975, wherein the regulation of burners of combustible liquids in fixed installations was approved, up to 16 official provisions were published pertinent to pollution, not to mention, as part of the intense effort of the Municipal Government in this field, the installation of a network of control, due in part to the role of U.S. assistance, already solicited in 1970, amounting at that time to 70 million pesetas.

In spite of all this, it is surprising to see that 7.75 billion pesetas are to be invested "to determine and prevent the source of air pollution," especially when in the past the designated services of the municipal government involved daily and continuous home inspection and checking the condition of furnaces in industries and depending on results obtained, obligating them to repair them or simply adjust them.

Have inspections been suspended? What type of fuel is being used? How much will this new-old plan cost the people of Madrid?

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OCEAN ISSUES EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

NORTH SEA COASTAL COUNTRIES AGREE ON WATER POLLUTION PACT

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Sep 83 p 10

[Article by Nils Morten Udgaard]

[Text] Bonn, 14 Sep--The countries bordering the North Sea have signed an agreement this week in Bonn on expanded cooperation in the fight against pollution in this ocean area.

The countries have promised to keep each other informed about threats to the environment and to give each other help when such threats have to be combatted—help that would be paid for largely by the country that asked for assistance.

The agreement expands the so-called Bonn Accord from 1969 to apply not only to oil pollution but also to all other harmful substances that might be released into the North Sea. The new agreement was signed on Norway's behalf by Bonn Ambassador Sverre Gjellum, who pointed out that Norway has long worked actively for environmental protection in the North Sea. He promised quick ratification of the new agreement. For the first time an environmental agreement on the North Sea was also signed by EC as an institution, represented by the Greek executive committee. In addition, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, France and West Germany have backed the agreement.

The Bonn government is under great political pressure to do more for environmental protection, especially in the North Sea, according to demands from all politicians from various parties in the coastal districts. Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann--who sits in Bonn with responsibility for environmental protection--has invited the North Sea countries to an environmental conference in Bremen in late 1984 and high-ranking senior officials to a meeting in Bonn this December. Among other things they will draw up guidelines for research meetings on the North Sea in the first half of next year.

Zimmermann has had to abandon plans for a fleet of surveillance vessels in the North Sea--that would be too expensive even for Bonn--but he is calling instead for an international cooperation with regard to airplane surveillance to catch "oil sinners," His North Sea program is also aimed at limiting the dumping of waste in the North Sea, reducing the danger of collisions between tankers, expanding the existing system of measurement and surveillance, checking the pollution that comes over the North Sea in the air, reducing river pollution and expanding cooperation between EC and the North Sea states for the purpose of protecting this ocean area. The first international meeting of experts on a new North Sea program was held earlier this year.

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